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ABSTRACT

The history of adult education in British Columbia may be divided into three periods: from the early years of European settlement to 1914, from 1914 to 1954, and from 1954 to the present. Before 1914, the development of adult education was sporadic and carried out by many different agencies. Missionaries, clergy of various denominations, and church organizations provided an important amount of adult education in the province's early years. One of the major elements in the provision of adult education during the second period was the programs offered by local school boards. Important steps were taken in the field of vocational training (including apprenticeship) and extension education. The first provincial organization of adult educators was formed in 1954, by which time adult education had become a broadly based enterprise. School board programs grew explosively until the early 1970s, with the community school movement becoming a significant dimension of adult educational programming. An examination of changing practices and policies indicates that adult education in British Columbia has been transformed from a social movement to a profession, and the recent developments in the field would seem to indicate that adult education will continue to expand within the province. (MN)

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Occasional Papers in Continuing Education

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THE INVISIBLE GIANT

A History of Adult Education in British Columbia

Gordon R. Selman

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THE INVISIBLE GIANT

A History of Adult Education in British Columbia

Gordon R. Selman

Vancouver 1988

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About This Series and This Paper

This Occasional Paper is the twenty-fifth in a series being published by the Centre for Continuing Education. Our aim is to contribute to the field of adult education by publishing monographs which originate here at The University of British Columbia and are deemed to be worthy of reaching a wider audience than would otherwise be the case.

The author of this paper, Gordon R. Selman, is Associate Professor in Adult Education at UBC. His major research interest is the history and development of adult education in Canada and particularly in British Columbia. During the last few years he has been engaged in a long-term research project on the history of adult education in British Columbia. His research interest also includes the history of the national and provincial associations for adult education.

Gordon Selman has published numerous articles on historical aspects of adult education in Canada, among these articles concerned with the development of the field in Canada and in British Columbia, the extension work at this University and a series of articles on the pioneering days of adult education in this province. The Canadian Association for Adult Education published his monograph *A History of Fifty Years of Extension Service of The University of British Columbia, 1915 to 1965*. His papers *Toward Co-operation: The Development of a Provincial Voice for Adult Education in British Columbia, 1953 to 1962*; *Adult Education in Vancouver Before 1914*; *A Decade of Transition: The Extension Department of The University of British Columbia 1960 to 1970*; *Adult Education in British Columbia During the Depression*; *The Canadian Association for Adult Education in the Corbett Years: A Re-evaluation*; *Roby Kidd and the Canadian Association for Adult Education 1951-1961*; and *Alan Thomas and The Canadian Association for Adult Education 1961-1970* were published earlier in this series of Occasional Papers.

This monograph is the culmination of many years of research by Gordon Selman into the development of adult education in British Columbia since the early colonist days, and is the first published comprehensive history of adult education in this province. As such it is a significant contribution to the literature on adult education as well as to the appreciation of our roots. It constitutes also one of the indispensable building blocks for the history of adult education in Canada, yet to be written.

I am pleased to make this monograph available to a wider readership among our professional colleagues, volunteers and workers in the social movements, social historians and, last but not least, students of adult education.

Jindra Kulich
Director

Preface

This monograph is dedicated to my wife and children and their families. If they were not such wonderful, interesting and lovable people, I would have finished this history years ago. Any deficiencies in this study – if there are any – are mostly, if not entirely their fault. Any which are not their fault are likely the fault of my colleagues and my students.

In the student department, as in the family department, I have been blessed. This is not to say my students too have been wonderful, interesting and lovable. But some of them have been competent and could write English. And they have helped me examine the tendencies towards "unreconstructed liberalism" in my thinking.

I have had a remarkably friendly, wise and competent editor. He has made at least one or two good suggestions and the final product – according to him – is considerably improved over what it otherwise might have been.

In one way or another, I have been working on — and living — the history of adult education in British Columbia for some 35 years. That has been both a help and a hindrance in writing the present work. But more important, it has been fun. An incipient clergyman, Ned Corbett was fond of saying he set off on the road to Damascus and fell among adult educators. I was going nowhere in particular when I fell among them, but it was my lucky day when I did.

Gordon Selman

I. The Nature of the Enterprise

Why have I chosen to refer to adult education as an "invisible giant"? Both words have significant implications. Few persons realize how "gigantic" the adult education enterprise is in our province. A recent Statistics Canada study has concluded that approximately 21 per cent of adults in British Columbia take part in some organized adult education activity each year. This represents some 405,000 people, more by far than the number of children and youth who attend all the schools in the province.

But this educational giant is invisible as far as most people are concerned, for several reasons. First, adult education is widely dispersed in our society. If the average person one might ask knows anything at all about what is meant by the term adult education, it is likely as a reference to "night school", the classes that are held at the local school in the evening hours. And indeed this is one major segment of adult education. But there are now at least three other sources of adult education programs in the province which account for a larger portion of this activity – employers, voluntary organizations, and the largest of all, the colleges and institutes. There are other significant sectors as well. The point is that adult education is so widely dispersed in our communities that it is not apparent – even to someone who is actively engaged in one segment of it – just how far-flung the whole field is.

Also, in most organizations which offer adult education, it is a secondary, relatively low priority or marginal activity for that organization. School authorities and universities, for instance, tend to see their adult education activities as secondary (if that) and are chiefly concerned with their full-time day students. Businesses or industries which may run substantial training programs in good times, tend to cut back drastically on such activity at the first sign of financial difficulty. Other major providers of adult education — unions, professional associations, the military, voluntary organizations, churches and synagogues, to name only a few – may see their efforts in adult education as of secondary importance, often as means to achieve the primary goals of the organization rather than as ends in themselves.

It was very revealing that in 1971, when the Department of Education in Victoria asked Statistics Canada to prepare a special centenary report on the work of the Department during the 100 years since B.C. entered Confederation, although B.C. was by far the most active province in Canada in school board-sponsored adult education, not one word in a 160 page report was devoted to that subject. The point is not that the Department of Education deliberately set out to ignore the interest of adult education, but that it probably didn't even think of it when instructing the federal agency as to what it wished included.

The third main reason why adult education is "invisible" is the fact that it tends to be a part-time or marginal activity in people's lives. One of the famous definitions of adult education is that it consists of "all activities with an educational purpose that are carried on by people engaged in the ordinary business of life". Because the adults' main pre-occupations in life are understandably elsewhere, there is little consciousness of adult education as a separate entity. It was revealing that when in the mid-1980s there was such a battle over school board budget cuts, all the focus was on the impact of the reductions on children, when the adult education programs of the boards were probably the sectors which were hardest hit.

And the final reason why we know so little about adult education is that because it is so widely dispersed in society and is so frequently a low priority activity for the sponsoring body, information about it is difficult to gather. We can quickly determine from the reports of public educational institutions how many part-time students they had, but what of business, professional bodies, health associations, unions, churches and avocational interest groups? A group of doctoral students in the Adult Education program at U.B.C. set out in 1974 to gather complete statistics on participation in adult eduction in the province, but in the end had to settle for very general estimates about some parts of the field. The student of adult education is in a situation that is perhaps similar to that of an archaeologist who finds a few groups of tiles

from a mosaic in ancient Knossos, mounts them in a frame and then sketches in what the balance of the design might have looked like.

So it is with the "invisible giant" of adult education. The account which follows relies on information which is available about the nature and history of adult education in British Columbia, but the author is as aware as anyone that this account represents only some of the tiles of the larger mosaic.

It would be useful at the outset to take a closer look at what we mean by adult education. There is a liberal amount of chaos in the terminology of the field. There is not even agreement on what to call it. Adult education is a commonly used term, but in some institutions other phrases are used to refer to the same thing. Many school boards, colleges and institutes use the term community or continuing education. Other institutions use continuing studies or extension. Even lifelong education, which logically embraces all education, from birth to death, and recurrent education, which has particular reference to the alternation of work and education during the adult working years, are sometimes used as synonymous terms.

There is a sense in which adult education is used as an administrative category rather than a definition. When, for instance, a 40 year old woman returns to full-time study at a college or university to continue her education, the system counts her as a full-time "regular" student. If that same person decided to study part-time, but still in the daytime, she would likely be recorded as a regular part-time student. But if she studied on a part-time basis in the evening, she would commonly be included in the category of extension, or adult or continuing education student.

So it should be recognized that there is considerable lack of precision with respect to the boundary lines of adult education. Generally, what the author intends it to include are those activities (apart from full-time attendance at institutional programs) which are purposefully planned to assist persons of adult years to learn the things which the need and wish to know. Typically, adult education programs are undertaken on a part-time basis, over and above "the ordinary business of life", or if the programs are full-time, they are usually of relatively short duration. Adult education is usually engaged in on a voluntary basis (though there are exceptions). The key phrase here is "purposefully planned", by an agency or by the learner him/herself. A great deal of learning on the part of adults takes place outside of educational programs, but no attempt will be made here to account for that broader phenomenon.

People decide to engage in adult education for a variety of reasons. One commonly used breakdown of the motivations consists of: vocational, social, recreational and self-development. The first of these is self-explanatory and is sometimes described as learning "to do a job better or to do a better job". For many Canadians in recent years, it has been to enable them to get a job, period. The social reasons for adult education may run the gamut from learning how to be a better parent, to be a member or a leader in organizational activities, or to work in the community for some social change. Recreational or avocational reasons for learning are of tremendous variety, from the proverbial basket weaving to any number of other interests, physical, mental or social. Self-development is usually meant to include such areas as enhancing the person's general capacities to think and express ideas and also widening the person's horizons or powers of appreciation. These four areas are sometimes summed up in two phrases – to increase the person's "life chance" and "life space". Yet another typology is used as the basic framework for the description of the field in section III.

Not only is adult education offered by many organizations and engaged in for a variety of reasons; it also takes many different forms. The best known and most traditional of these is where there is a "class" and a "teacher". But we need to think as well of the discussion group or study club where the members may be taking turns providing leadership, or teaching each other, meeting without the presence of an "expert" in the normal sense. In recent years there has been rapid expansion of learning "at a distance" from the teacher or expert, where the learner is sitting in front of a computer terminal or a television screen, or is studying at home as a correspondence course student. Adult education takes many forms and may be designed by some institution or expert, or by the learners themselves.

In the account which follows, I have adopted an approach which involves some criss-crossing of the territory. In section II, there is a mainly chronological account. In III, the field is examined in terms of the functions performed by adult education in the lives of people. In the last section (VI), I have identified some of the most noteworthy achievements in the field in B.C. This seems to be a satisfactory approach in many ways, but does involve the need to refer to some programs and developments on more than one occasion. Efforts have been made to make this repetition painless and to stress different elements in different places.

A word about footnotes. There aren't any. I have decided that the nature of the paper is such that it required either endless footnotes, a lesser (and inadequate) number, or none at all. Where there are direct quotes, I have indicated the source in the text. For the rest, I have tried to supply an appropriate statement about sources in general and a bibliography which makes quite clear where I have relied on the work of others.

II. Historical Overview: Some of the Chief Actors

The division of the history of almost anything into periods of time is an artificial construct, but sometimes can be helpful in identifying trends and milestone events. For the purposes of this study, three periods will be used: from the early years of European settlement to 1914; from 1914 to 1954; and from 1954 to the present.

Before 1914

European settlement in what is now British Columbia began in a small way in the 1820s with the establishment by the Hudson's Bay Company of Fort Langley on the Lower Fraser, and of Fort Victoria in the early 1840s on Vancouver Island, but got under way in earnest in the late fifties as a result of the gold rush in the Lower Fraser Valley. The earliest evidence we have of adult education activity in the province was recorded in Margaret Ormsby's centennial history of B.C. She states that in 1854, a group of settlers at Craigflower, outside Victoria, formed a study group and took turns presenting papers to each other on such subjects as "theology, natural history, geography or history". Such an example is an appropriate symbol for this earliest period because, although by the outbreak of World War I the foundations had been laid for the emergence of many government-sponsored services, a great deal of what went on in the early decades was under private sponsorship – community and voluntary organizations, churches, unions and private businesses.

An important and impressive amount of adult education work in the early decades was provided by missionaries, clergy of various denominations and church organizations. There has probably never been a time when the churches have not been important providers of opportunities for adults to learn (the reference here is to non-proseletyzing type of activity), but in the early years, before other organizations and institutions entered the field, the work of the churches was particularly important, not just to their members, but to the community as a whole.

In a number of the communities which emerged in British Columbia in the latter decades of the century, the churches were the first organizations to provide opportunities for adults to pursue their learning in an organized way. The earliest example, perhaps, was the work of an Anglican missionary who founded the Fort Hope Reading Room and Library in 1859, which is thought to be the first library in the province. Three years later, the Yale Institute was established, again under Anglican auspices. Similar organizations were subsequently founded by churches in Nanaimo, Barkerville, Hedley and Trail, to name only a few. Typically, these church institutes maintained libraries and reading rooms, offered occasional lectures, and frequently sponsored choirs and other cultural activities. The newspapers of the period also provide ample evidence of the impressive role played by many of the clergy as lecturers on a variety of non-religious subjects for the benefit of the community as a whole, under both church and other auspices.

Of importance too was the educational work carried out by the churches for two particular groups, Native Indian people and Oriental immigrants. One of the most colorful examples in this period was the work of William Duncan, an Anglican missionary, who conducted educational work among both young and adult Indian people on the North Coast, beginning soon after his arrival in 1857, and five years later persuaded some 350 Indian people to move with him to found a new community in the forest, Metlakatla. The story of that community is significant from many points of view, but among them is the educational dimension, which was noted by various visitors at the time. The native people were trained to be farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters and merchants, and established a brass band. Also well known for their work among Indian people were Reverend Thomas Crosby and his wife (Methodists), who worked in Fort Simpson in the 1870s, initially, engaging the community in building a church and a school, learning arts and crafts and the manufacture of household goods, and studying English and other subjects at night school. Many other examples of such work could be listed, by several of the major denominations, and in various parts of the province.

When many thousands of Oriental workers were brought to the province in the early decades of settlement, little thought was given to their cultural integration into the life of the area — indeed many interests were opposed to the idea – but several of the churches responded to the need. In this case it was the Methodists who led the way. The work began in Victoria in 1868 and subsequently expanded to other centers, most notably Vancouver, where large numbers of Chinese adults were taught English. The Presbyterian and Anglican denominations took up the work as well (in some cases with Japanese immigrants too), and records have been found of such work in Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster, Sapperton, Nanaimo, Union (Cumberland), Nelson, Kamloops, Kaslo and Steveston. It is clear that some tens of thousands of Oriental immigrants were affected by this work.

A second major category of adult education carried out in this period was that offered by a variety of community or voluntary organizations. Five examples which will be mentioned here are the mechanics institutes, the Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s, the Farmers' Institutes, the Women's Institutes, and various kinds of private schools.

The mechanics institute was an organization founded in Britain early in the 19th century. It started as an attempt to provide scientific education for "mechanics" (workmen, especially the more highly skilled), but soon became general educational and cultural organizations. Many hundreds of these institutes were founded in Britain and elsewhere in North America by mid-century and B.C. got in on the movement in its waning stages. The most active and outstanding institute in B.C. was the one in Victoria, which was founded in the mid-sixties and continued for about twenty years. It sponsored a library, many interest groups, lectures and classes, debating societies, an orchestra and periodic exhibitions. Other communities which had mechanics institutes included New Westminster, North Vancouver and Vancouver, Nanaimo and Barkerville. The colonial and subsequently the provincial governments provided small annual grants to the institutes for a time.

The work of the Y.M. and the Y.W.C.A.s is relatively well known, but what may not be fully appreciated is that prior to the entry of the school boards into the field of adult education early in the present century, it was the Y.M.C.A., in both Victoria and Vancouver particularly, which provided the major evening class offerings, largely vocational and academic in emphasis. This was far from all that these organizations did, however. The earliest ones were founded in the 1880s, and although their existence at first was sporadic, the Y's provided many social, recreational and educational activities – the latter including reading rooms, interest and cultural groups, debating societies and mock parliaments, discussion groups and class activities.

The Farmers' and Women's Institutes had some characteristics in common. The former organization was founded in 1897 and the W.I.s in 1909. They provided a mixture of vocational education and social amenities for their members and generally were aimed at improving the quality of life in rural areas. Both organizations, though voluntary ones, received a large measure of government support in the form of modest grants, the services of experts to teach courses and address meetings, the support of

regional field staff of the Department of Agriculture, literature, and other forms of assistance. There were approximately 80 Farmers' Institutes and 47 Women's Institutes in the province by 1914.

Quite another type of community organization was the private or proprietary school operated as a business. These have always existed in the province since the early years of settlement, and played an important role especially before the school boards began to provide comprehensive night school offerings. This sort of thing was a prominent feature in the newspapers in the early years, which carried many advertisements for individual tutoring services and specialized schools of various kinds, including of course the familiar business and secretarial schools. In Victoria, as early as 1859 and increasingly during the sixties, local private schools were advertising evening instruction in academic and commercial subjects. John Jessop, the man who subsequently became the first Superintendent of Schools for the province, was running a private school in Victoria in the sixties. In 1862 he established evening classes as well, in academic and commercial subjects (and a "singing school"), for which he received some public support from the Colonial government. Local commercial schools appeared in 1888 and these and other types of private schools became plentiful in Victoria, New Westminster, and as it gained prominence, especially in Vancouver.

In addition to these five detailed examples, many other kinds of community organizations were active in adult education – service clubs, unions, fraternal and ethnic societies, and cultural organizations of various kinds.

As time passed, especially after British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871, the two senior levels of government began to provide more and more educational services. In the case of the Dominion government, this took various forms. The most ambitious efforts in this period were in the field of agriculture. An experimental farm was established in Agassiz in 1889 and further developed in subsequent years. Promotion of improved dairy farming was carried out largely by means of local short courses. Early demonstrations of this technique were held in 1895 and begun on a regular basis in 1901. They were held in co-operation with the provincial department, and where possible, with the local Farmers' Institute, and usually lasted five days. Work in seed production and improvement was also carried out, and information conveyed by means of publications and lectures. Other departments of the Dominion government also carried out work in the province. The Geological Survey of Canada produced many useful publications. The Department of Marine and Fisheries organized Marine Schools offered annually in Victoria (beginning in 1903) and in Vancouver (beginning in 1907), as well as other ports across the country, the Vancouver school being considered the most successful in all of Canada.

Provincial government services expanded considerably during these early decades. In some respects agriculture led the way at this level as well. Provincial (and state) departments of agriculture throughout North America had developed a tradition of commitment to education as a means of promoting the efficiency of agricultural practice and the quality of rural life. The use of the Farmers' and Women's Institutes for this purpose has already been mentioned. The B.C. Department also supported a variety of other specialized organizations under the terms of the Agricultural Societies Incorporation Act, which was passed in 1873. By 1893, there were thirteen groups registered under the Act and by 1912, this number grew to 76. They ranged all the way from groups that sponsored annual exhibitions to ones like the fruit growers and cattle breeders, which carried out sustained information and educational work. The Department of Agriculture also sponsored schools, short courses and demonstrations on agricultural subjects, this activity expanding markedly after the re-organization of the Department in 1909. For instance, in the year 1914, 37 short courses in fruit packing alone were given by the Department. The Bureau of Mines was also active in educational work. In 1896, for instance, courses of lectures on the practical aspects of prospecting were offered in the three main population centers. And regulations governing the mining industry led to a variety of educational programs, in areas such as upgrading the knowledge of mine personnel (as it affected safety standards) and first aid to the injured. Government support of the mechanics institute movement has been mentioned. There were also important developments with respect to libraries in the province. Although early legislation was not very generous or effective, some support was provided for community libraries. In addition, a scheme of "travelling

libraries", boxes of 100 books which were sent from Victoria on three month loan to small centers, was inaugurated in 1898. By 1914, there were 120 such libraries in circulation.

Of particular importance because of the developments which were to flow from these beginnings, were actions taken by the Department of Education. Two lines of development are particularly relevant here: the launching of the Teachers' Institutes and the inauguration of school board adult education programs. John Jessop, the first Superintendent of Schools for the province, suggested in 1873 the organization of provincial teachers' conferences or institutes in order to promote the in-service development of members of the teaching profession. He organized the first of these the following year. They lasted three or four days, were held most years thereafter, and were usually attended by several hundred teachers. Beginning in 1885, local and regional institutes were organized as well. This pattern continued until the B.C. Teachers Federation was created in 1916.

Although John Jessop had suggested as early as 1877 that local school boards conduct evening classes for adults who wished to continue their education, by the time this development came about early in the next century, the initiative came from the local level and the Department had to be persuaded. The Vancouver School Board was the leading actor in these developments. An experimental set of classes was run successfully by a committee of teachers in Vancouver in the fall of 1907, but subsequent appeals to the Department by the Vancouver Board and by the B.C. School Trustees' Association brought no results in terms of enabling legislation.

In 1909, the Vancouver board felt it was time for more decisive action and they authorized a more formally-endorsed program, under the leadership of John Kyle, a teacher of technical subjects (and an outstanding artist). There were this time 966 registrations in ten different courses, held in six centers in the city, and once again the board enlisted the support of civic bodies and the Trustees' Association in trying to persuade the provincial government to act. They were successful this time, the government amending the Public Schools Act in 1910 to empower boards to conduct night classes and to provide financial support for this work from public funds. The response from other boards was not overwhelming in the immediate future. The first year under the grants (1910-11) six school boards applied for support. Of a total enrollment of 2,005, 1,628 were in Vancouver. By 1913-14, the total enrollment had risen slightly, to 2,311, drawn that year from only five centers, with Vancouver accounting for 1,749. The major expansion of night schools lay in the future, but a beginning had been made and supporting policies put in place.

In this period from the earliest days of European settlement to the outbreak of the first World War, the development of adult education was sporadic, and carried out by many different agencies. The bulk of the work, for much of this period, was carried out by a wide range of private and voluntary organizations, but with the growth of population, particularly after 1890, government services of various kinds developed rapidly, especially in the Departments of Agriculture and Education.

1914 - 1954

These forty years were tumultuous ones in the life of the province — and of the whole world. Two World Wars and the Great Depression of the 1930s left their mark on our society, and also produced a need for learning on an enormous scale on the part of many of our citizens. The population and economy of the province continued to grow at a rapid rate and the "boom and bust" nature of the province's economy was amply demonstrated.

Both World Wars created conditions in which a large proportion of Canadians were thrown into unaccustomed roles, whether in the armed forces, in wartime industries, or in other aspects of their lives. As one of our historians has put it, "As soldiers, Canadians had everything to learn" (Morton p.41). Training within the forces, for military roles, will not be dealt with here, but it is clear that many thousands of British Columbians in the armed forces were learning at a rate they had never before experienced. In industry, at home, in many instances it was a case of expanding already established enterprises, be it

logging, mining or fishing, but in the case of the shipyards, for instance, and in the Second World War, aircraft production, expansion and innovation were on such a scale as to create entire new industries, with all the training of new personnel which was required. Although information is lacking, a tremendous amount of adult education clearly was carried out during the wars to train the "back home" population in such matters as first aid, homekeeping amidst wartime shortages, and during the Second World War, many skills related to air raids and other possible emergencies.

The University of British Columbia was established in 1915. Having been created in wartime, the institution turned its attention, among other things, to the rehabilitation of veterans. In the period 1917 to 1921, U.B.C. ran a series of concentrated courses for returning veterans in a range of vocational subjects, including assaying and other mining specialties, engine operation and maintenance, machine shop techniques, general electrical work, steam engineering, draughting, telegraphy, and specialties in forestry and agriculture. In all, some 1,300 men were helped in this way to equip themselves for civilian life. Following the Second World War, the University's efforts were largely devoted to providing degree credit programs for veterans who wished to advance their careers by university study.

During and immediately following both World Wars, a great deal of study and activity were devoted to "reconstruction". What had gone wrong with society? How could Canadians build a better, more peaceful world? The Protestant churches played a particularly active role in such work, as did some of the political parties. The activities of the Methodist Church during the First World War and of the United Church during the Depression years and the Second World War provided a "curriculum" for a broadly-based study group movement, very much in the social gospel tradition. Many thousands of Canadians were thus engaged in thoughtful study of the nature and goals of life in our society. As well, there were in British Columbia a number of very vigorous voluntary organizations concerned with the study of social and public affairs issues. These included the Councils of Women, the Women's School for Citizenship, the League of Nations Society (and later, the United Nations Association), the Parent-Teacher Federation, and other groups.

One of the major elements in the provision of adult education during these decades was programs offered by the local school boards. The growth in enrollments in school board adult education was not particularly spectacular. They had reached approximately 4,000 by 1914-15, got as high as 7,600 in the prosperous twenties, slumped during the Depression and again during the War, and then rose sharply in the post-war period. Enrollments doubled between 1945 and 1950, from 8,000 to almost 17,000. The most spectacular story, as always, was that of the Vancouver Board's program. At the conclusion of the War (1945), enrollments in night school classes in Vancouver stood at 3,317. By 1954, this figure had reached 14,071, and was increasing at more than 10 per cent a year. The other aspect of the school board picture which should be noted is the large number of boards which became involved in adult education. Whereas in 1914, only five school boards claimed grant funds in support of night schools, by the end of the twenties, this number had reached almost 70, many of these local programs being very small. Due to re-organization of school districts into fewer, larger districts, this number reduced by half by the end of the thirties (larger school districts had been formed), but this was still a substantial figure. When the rapid expansion of programs came about in the sixties, it was no doubt important that so many of the boards had already had some experience with the provision of classes for adults.

In his study of the development of school board adult education, B.E. Wales rightly pays tribute to the important work of John Kyle. Kyle had been in charge of organizing the trail-blazing work by the Vancouver School Board in night schools beginning in 1909, and in 1913 the Department of Education employed him as Director of Technical Education, placing him in charge of night schools as well. His leadership of that enterprise was of outstanding quality and vigor over the subsequent 20 years. Kyle was successful in interesting a large number of the boards in this work, as the figures quoted above indicate. He also encouraged the boards to advertize their classes widely in the community so that potential students could learn of them. He insisted that the night school programs, which were largely vocational in emphasis at this stage, be developed in close liaison with the relevant industries. In his

1916 report, he stated, "behind the technical education movement in each district there should be found an advisory committee". This element of school board adult education, especially in the Vancouver area, was fully developed and was clearly an important reason for its success over the years, and especially in the period of rapid expansion following the Second World War. Another significant development in the Department of Education at the time was the leadership being given to correspondence education (which had been initiated in 1919) by J.W. Gibson. He took over this work in 1929 and in subsequent years greatly expanded the curriculum and made it more relevant to adults in the province.

The story of adult education in B.C. during the Great Depression of the 1930s is a particularly interesting one, for at least two reasons. The first of these is simply to see how a service which prides itself on being responsive to the needs of the learners actually responded to the conditions of the times. The second arises from the fact that during this period, government for the first time, at least in any sustained way, used adult education as one of the means of implementing its policies. The reference here is to the Liberal government of Dufferin Patullo, which was elected in late 1933 on an "interventionist" platform reminiscent of the New Deal Roosevelt administration in the United States. Adult education was used by the new administration, under the Minister of Education, George Weir, who was a professional educator, as at least one means of providing both practical and morale-raising activities for many citizens of the province. This may be seen as a humanitarian and necessary response to the deep problems of a depression-ridden society, or it may be seen as an effort by the private enterprise establishment to provide constructive activities for the populace, in the hope that they would not listen to the blandishments of the communist and other revolutionary elements which were so vocal in those desperate times. At any rate, the latter half of the thirties was a period during which government provided particularly strong leadership in the field of adult education, to an extent not paralleled until the late seventies.

The Department of Education took a series of important initiatives during the latter half of the thirties. It appointed an advisory committee, "Adult Education: British Columbia", to supervise the services to be provided to unemployed persons. These included night classes in practical subjects provided free of charge through the local school boards; organizers of educational programs in several of the larger camps for unemployed men in the province; an expansion and wider provision of correspondence courses in a variety of subjects; and financial and other assistance to the educational work of several voluntary organizations, most notably the Self-Help program of the Vancouver Council of Women, the housekeeper training program of the Y.W.C.A. and the vocational courses being operated by the United Church organization, A.O.T.S. Other measures taken by the Department included the inauguration of a community drama service, which included the organization of several hundred drama reading groups, and the organization of the Provincial Recreation Program (Pro-Rec), which involved some tens of thousands of adult British Columbians in recreational activities, including a great deal of leadership and coach training work as well. At no previous time had the government provided such vigorous leadership in adult education. Some further significant initiatives followed from a re-organization of the Department of Education in 1952, but this will be dealt with in the next section.

The government also took important steps in the field of vocational training, especially concerning apprenticeship. There had been unregulated forms of apprenticeship in some trades since the early years of the century, but no system of regulation. Beginning in 1926, the Building Trades Association in Vancouver created an Apprenticeship Council on the basis of the voluntary participation of some of its member companies. Saturday classes were run at Vancouver Technical School. There were 925 apprentices in that scheme by 1935, and in that year the government responded to appeals from the Council and elsewhere by securing the passage of the first Act which regulated the apprenticeship scheme in the province. By 1939 there were 368 apprenticeship agreements registered under the Act. By the end of the period under review, 1954, there was a dominion-provincial apprenticeship agreement in force and in that year, 1,511 apprentices were taking instruction by evening classes or correspondence courses and 217 were attending daytime classes.

One of the most significant developments during these years was the emergence of the Extension Department of The University of British Columbia as a leading agency in the field. Mention has already been made of the vocational training activities the University conducted for Second World War veterans. The major story during the 1920s was extension work carried out by the Faculty of Agriculture of the University, with the assistance of federal grants. Agriculture offered short courses in various parts of the province and courses of longer duration on the campus. The peak year in the early period was 1921-22, when eight off-campus short courses were offered, involving 732 registrants. Other work included visits and consultation by field workers, surveys of practice, soil testing, and the distribution of publications. In 1923 the federal grants were discontinued but the Faculty continued its extension work as best it could, until the early thirties, when the government slashed the University's budget. The other form of extension conducted in these early years was a lecture service, which made faculty available to speak to community organizations, at their request.

By the early thirties almost all of this activity had come to a halt, following the wholesale cuts in the University's budget by the Tolmie government. An opportunity for a new start presented itself in the mid-thirties, when the University decided that $30,000 of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York would be used to re-establish extension work. A major program of lectures throughout the province was conducted in the year 1935-36, and during the year it was decided to give permanent leadership to such work by means of creating a Department of University Extension. Gordon Shrum took over the direction of the Extension Department from Robert England, at the beginning of its second year of operation and in a very few years the Department was transformed from the newest and smallest in the country to one of the largest and most highly regarded. He was resourceful in finding funds from outside the University to make expansion of programs possible, he recruited able staff, and he provided vigorous, imaginative leadership.

In the succeeding two decades the U.B.C. Extension Department made outstanding achievements in several areas. In agriculture and rural life, the Department ran a series of Youth Training Schools, in various parts of the province and an eight week residential school at the University, in addition to a range of technical short courses and conferences in specialized subjects for producers. In the fine arts, a full-time drama specialist operated a range of services in that field, including play reading groups throughout the province (with a play lending library to service these groups), for a time a theater of the air on radio, short courses around the province, and beginning in 1938, a very successful annual Summer School of Theater. An instructor in the field of home economics was employed until the late fifties, organizing and teaching courses and providing a great deal of service to the Women's Institutes of the province. A specialist in child development, family life education, and increasingly from the late forties on, in human relations training and group development, provided leadership and publications which had a national reputation for excellence in those areas. The Department did outstanding work in the field of audio-visual services, operating a substantial provincial library of materials and giving leadership and services to the National Film Board film councils and circuits in the province. The Department also maintained a large program of co-operative education among the fishermen of the province, with at times up to three full-time professional staff. The Department served as the provincial headquarters for both National Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum, the national projects of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, which involved weekly radio broadcasts and local discussion groups. These are but a few of the most noteworthy programs run by university extension in this period. By the early fifties the U.B.C. Department was recognized as one of the top such units in the country. Registrations for its services well outnumbered those involved in all the school board programs combined.

The educational activities of the Parent-Teacher Federation of the province should also be mentioned. Formed in 1922, when it already had 60 local associations, this organization was particularly strong during this period and established a very active leadership development and human relations training program. Under its own auspices, or as was frequently the case, in co-operation with the U.B.C. Extension Department, the P-T Federation through the 1950s and early 1960s organized regular series of training courses for its leaders and other interested members. With a membership of 30,000 by 1950 and

52,000 a decade later, this was a large and active organization which gave a great deal of attention to both parent education and leadership development.

Finally, reference should be made to library services. The general field of libraries as a resource for adult learning cannot be dealt with here, but it clearly was an important aspect of the field. Library work took a great step forward in 1919, when a new Library Act was passed and the Public Library Commission was created to carry out planning and provide leadership for the field. The pioneering demonstration project in regionally-based library services carried out in the Lower Fraser Valley beginning in 1928 under the leadership of Helen Stewart may perhaps be seen to fall in another area of professional service, but its impact on the future development of library service, both in B.C. and elsewhere — and therefore on the resources for adult learning — has been profound. As well, in the decades before the field of adult education became organized as a professional field, it was frequently librarians who spoke out most effectively on behalf of adult education.

One milestone for the field was the first directory of adult education services, which was published by the Vancouver Public Library in 1929, entitled "Why Stop Learning?" and containing a directory of programs offered by 38 agencies, listed under 74 subject matter headings. The most thorough survey of adult education in British Columbia ever conducted was carried out by the Public Library Commission in 1941, at the request of George Weir, then Provincial Secretary. It described the work of various public and private agencies in the field, providing enrollment statistics in some cases. The report included descriptions of approximately 30 public departments and agencies and several hundred private and voluntary groups (the 186 Women's Institutes, for instance, were listed as just one of these). The report concluded with a series of strong recommendations calling for government leadership in the further development and co-ordination of adult education.

The year 1954 is taken as the dividing line between this period and the next because it was in this year that the first provincial organization of adult educators was formed. By this time, adult education had become a broadly based enterprise in the province and an increasing number of persons were coming to identify themselves with the field. Those employed professionally in this work were mainly in the school boards and the university extension department, with a few elsewhere. As well, however, there were increasing numbers of leaders of voluntary organizations who saw the relevance of adult education and adult learning to the success of their work and who were ready to devote time to the advancement of the field of adult education.

Since 1954

The last 35 years, although the shortest of the three periods being considered, is perhaps the most eventful in terms of the provision of and participation in adult education activities. The results of two Statistics Canada studies, one carried out in 1960 and the other in 1983, dramatically demonstrate the growth of the field in recent decades. According to these reports, in 1960, 5.3 per cent of adults in British Columbia had taken part in adult education courses of some kind in that year (the national average was 3.6 per cent). In 1983, the figure for B.C. had climbed to 21 per cent (and the national average to 19 per cent). These changes were the result of a number of factors, some having to do with forces in society such as technological change and social development, some to do with the increasing range of opportunities by which adults could continue their education, and perhaps some arising from a changing outlook on life on the part of the individuals. For an increasing number of people, the concept of education, or perhaps more accurately, of learning, had been transformed. Education, instead of being seen as it had been traditionally, as "preparation for life", was being seen increasingly as an ongoing part of life. For some, this choice was made voluntarily; for others — largely for vocational reasons — it was forced upon them.

This was a period of continued growth in the population and economy of the province, for the most part, and as the population grew, the provision of social services, including education, was expanded. Federal government policies provided stimulus and resources on an unprecedented scale.

The school board segment of adult education flourished in B.C. for a time and the province created whole new systems of education at the post-secondary level, the colleges and institutes, the Institute of Technology, two new universities, a television agency and the Open Learning Institute. As the scope and complexity of post-secondary and adult education increased, several organizations of adult education practitioners emerged and the provincial government commissioned several important public inquiries on aspects of the field. In the latter half of the seventies the Ministry of Education (the name was changed from Department to Ministry in 1976) created the largest, most highly respected government leadership team in Canada in the field of adult education, only to dismantle it completely in the wake of austerity budgets and the "privatization" philosophy of the present decade. In the 1970s and 1980s, for a variety of reasons, there has been a strong resurgence of the private sector in this field.

Although it was not a direct provider or organizer of adult education, the actions of the federal government and its agencies during this period were of basic importance. The manpower training legislation passed by Ottawa in 1960, 1967, 1982, and 1985 provided funds for the expansion and creation of vocational training facilities as well as a portion of operating expenses, on a shared cost basis. Following the decision in 1966 on the part of Ottawa that it would play a more direct role in the design and purchase of programs and the selection and maintenance of students, it became directly involved in a great deal of adult training or education. It also stimulated the growth and development of basic education and English as a second language provision in the province. Through various agreements, the federal authorities also made important contributions in such fields as health and rehabilitation education, second language (bi-lingualism) training, citizenship education, labor education, agricultural extension, community development, and a variety of local projects under such programs as the Company of Young Canadians, Opportunities for Youth and the New Horizons Program.

One of the major developments in the whole history of adult education in this province has been the contributions of the school boards to the field. The pioneering work of the Vancouver board and the broadly based nature of school board adult education as it developed in earlier decades have already been described. In 1952, the government created a new unit in the Department of Education, the Community Programs Branch, placed under it both recreation and adult education, and put in charge of this work one of the ablest persons in the civil service, L.J. (Laurie) Wallace. As a result of his leadership, which among other things included the first-ever conference of school board night school directors in the province, held in 1955, and because of the outstanding ability of many of the directors, this aspect of adult education in the province "took off" and for some 15 years at least, led all of Canada in this work. The number of school boards operating adult education programs grew from approximately 40 at the end of the War to approximately 70 by the mid-sixties.

A national adult education publication stated in 1964 that of the full-time directors of adult education employed by boards in all of Canada, approximately 70 per cent were in B.C. Perhaps most significant of all, a Statistics Canada report published in 1963 indicated that school board adult education enrollments in the province were proportionately approximately twice as large than the national average, with no other region anywhere close to the B.C. figures. Total enrollment in school board adult education grew from 20,000 in 1953-54 to 70,000 in 1962-63, and 162,000 by 1969-70. During the 1960s, the number of full-time directors grew from 6 to 54. Another significant figure is that whereas at the beginning of the 1960s, approximately 75 per cent of the school board enrollments were in Vancouver and the balance in the rest of the province, by the end of the decade these proportions had reversed.

A major shift in the content of these programs also took place. In the early fifties, approximately half the enrollments were in vocational courses. Although such enrollments grew by 50 per cent in that decade, by the early sixties, the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent, and it remained at that figure through the decade.

The almost explosive growth of school board programs came to an end in the early seventies, when the Department let it be known that it would welcome school boards turning their adult education programs over to the emerging community colleges. Something approaching two-thirds of the boards

took this step and school board enrollments fell off in the seventies from the high of 180,000 in 1970-71. In 1983-84, the last year for which we have full statistics available, there were 145,000 registrants in the programs of 22 school districts.

The Vancouver board continued to provide important leadership in this sector of the field, not only in British Columbia, but nationally as well. Graham Bruce, who took over direction of this work during the War, and Bert Wales, his associate who succeeded him in 1959, were outstanding leaders in both school board and broader adult education circles. As in earlier periods, the Vancouver board continued its pioneering work. It led in the dramatic expansion of vocational adult education (the Vancouver Vocational Institute was opened in 1949), academic study for adults and other non-vocational areas. The early sixties were a particularly strategic period: the Vancouver program conducted the Vancouver Experiment in co-operation with both senior levels of government, which demonstrated the advantages of full-time adult academic study; it opened the King Edward Senior Matriculation and Continuing Education Center (1962), the first such full-time, day and evening adult studies center in Canada; and it was a key agency in the launching of the community college movement in the province, Vancouver City College being the first of these (1965) and Wales being named as its Director. In addition, in 1962, the Vancouver board was the first in Canada to approve and publish a formal policy declaration stating its responsibility for the education of the adults as well as the children in its district. Throughout the subsequent years, the Vancouver board has been the leading agency of its kind in the province, and certainly one of the leading voices in the early seventies which resisted the government's unsuccessful attempt to transfer responsibility for adult education mainly if not entirely to the colleges.

This period brought the creation of the system of community colleges and provincial institutes in the province, beginning in 1965. Various parties in the province had been calling for a college system, the School Trustee's organization and some member boards perhaps being the most insistent. It is generally agreed that a study issued in 1962 by the President of U.B.C., John B. Macdonald, was particularly influential. The government produced enabling legislation the following year and the first colleges opened their doors in 1965. The "community college", as distinct from the "junior college" model was adopted in B.C. and from the beginning it was envisaged that the colleges would play an important part in the provision of adult education, evening and part-time studies, over a wide range of academic, vocational and general or community education areas. (Here the dividing line between what is adult education and what is called something else – post-secondary education? – becomes difficult to define.) In general it is true to say that the colleges began, in the sixties, with strong links to their communities and were able to respond to local situations and local needs, but that the general tendency, especially after the passage of the Colleges and Institutes Act of 1977, has been towards centralized control and decision-making. Following the opening of the initial colleges in 1965, it was some 10 years until the whole province was brought within the service areas of the 14 (now 15) community colleges. In addition, several "institutes" were created — college level institutes such as the College of Art and the Justice Institute of B.C., which have a province-wide mandate, but within a specialized subject area.

It was clearly the view of some of the Ministry officials that the colleges, perhaps because they already were dealing with an adult clientele, were in a better position than the school boards to provide adult education services in the communities they were serving. This led to the initiative in the early seventies, already mentioned, to persuade the boards to vacate the field. The majority of boards, but generally those in the small centers, did this, but the province was left with a "mixed" system, and the government provided no leadership in differentiating the roles in the field of the two institutions. Indeed it can be said that policy in the Department of Education continued to favor the college-based adult education programs. Over time, the colleges played a larger and larger role in the field. From a total of approximately 5,000 adult education registrations in 1970-71 in college programs, the numbers increased rapidly during the decade (as did the number of colleges) to a figure of 155,000 by 1979-80 (approximately equal to that of the school boards at that time) and to 220,000 in 1983-84, the most recent figures available. The Statistics Canada participation study published in 1984 shows the community colleges as the largest provider of adult education in the province, followed by voluntary organizations, employers and school boards (and others) in that order. Although some figures vary

markedly from one institution to another, the general picture of the content areas covered by college and institute programs in 1983-84 is that community education and general interest programs accounted for 63 per cent of the registrations, vocational and professional courses for 25, and basic education and English as a second language fo 11.5. The college and institute sector was likely the most rapidly growing part of this field during this period.

Another major sector of the field in this period was the continued development of university level extension work and that of the Institute of Technology. In the sixties two new public universities, the University of Victoria and Simon Fraser University, were created. The Victoria institution had been active for more than a decade (in its previous existence as Victoria College) in this field and it greatly expanded its activities after being accorded university status, maintaining a program which combined non-credit and degree credit courses, with continuing professional education increasing in importance, especially in the last decade. Simon Fraser University, after a relatively inactive period of some years in this field following its creation, devoted much of its efforts to degree and diploma credit studies, and a number of other specialized projects. The B.C. Institute of Technology put great emphasis on the field of continuing education from the outset, providing access to its programs by part-time study, offering a large number and variety of programs for the benefit of those in business and industry, and technical fields generally, and doing important pioneering work in the field of distance education. The University of British Columbia, meanwhile, continued to expand its extension work, still largely in non-credit areas, and in this period, under the leadership of John Friesen, upgrading the general intellectual level of its program. Of particular note in the late fifties and early sixties were: the further development of work in the fine arts; a group discussion project in the liberal arts, Living Room Learning, which at its height was operating in 66 different B.C. communities; and several special projects in the field of public and international affairs. In the mid-sixties, the University severely reduced its financial support of adult education activities and Extension was forced to eliminate many programs, reduce staff and concentrate on programs which could maintain themselves out of fees (continuing professional education), could be funded by external sources (leadership training for Native Indian leaders), or which the University was still willing to fund, such as degree credit offerings.

Satisfactory enrollment figures for this sector of the field are difficult to obtain. A Statistics Canada report for 1975-76 indicates a total of approximately 50,000 registrations for the three universities, but by the mid-eighties it would likely be approximately three times that number, with U.B.C. representing about half the total. In the case of B.C.I.T., selected figures are available. Opening in 1964, evening classes began the following year and Industry Services (which offered special courses for those in industry) in 1970. By 1980-81, Industry Services served 2,743 registrants and evening classes, 27,006. By 1980-81, distance education enrollments stood at 1,400, and in addition, experimental work had been carried out leading to the formation of the public educational television channel, the Knowledge Network.

The Knowledge Network of the West (KNOW), now known generally by the first two words only, which was created in 1980, was a product of the innovative leadership in the Ministry of Education at the time. It is a telecommunications network which is designed to assist the educational institutions and other Ministries of the province with the development and delivery of courses and materials. Not only does it deliver courses and informational programming, but it is also capable of transmitting on a closed circuit basis for a variety of purposes. At the time of writing, KNOW is being amalgamated with the province's other specialized distance education institution, the Open Learning Institute. O.L.I. was created in 1978 to provide correspondence courses or distance education to the people of the province in three main subject matter areas — basic education, career technical training, and university level programs. By the fall of 1979, there were 750 students enrolled and four months later, 2,400. Growth continued at a rapid rate, the latest figures indicating that in the year 1986-87, O.L.I. had a total of 19,592 registrations, career/technical being the largest of the three sectors. In the fall of 1984, an Open University Consortium of B.C. was created, which was aimed at making the combined use of distance education courses available from O.L.I. and the three universities, O.L.I. serving as the accrediting body for degree purposes

in cases where that served the student's interest. In 1988, these two agencies, O.L.I. and KNOW, were combined into the Open Learning Agency.

An area of major expansion in adult education during these decades was that of continuing professional education. It became increasingly obvious in the post-war period that new knowledge was being acquired at such a rapid rate, that professional people, even more urgently than previously, had to continue to learn if they were to be able to carry out their roles in society in a satisfactory and responsible fashion. The same was obviously true for a range of "near professional" and higher level technical occupations. In response to such needs, continuing professional education took a great leap forward. The organizing agencies for this activity have varied from one field to another, but have in the main been the professional associations, the pre-service training institutions for the professions (university faculties, B.C.I.T., in some cases, colleges and institutes), and in some cases, the employing institutions (hospitals, business and industry, educational institutions, etc.). Comprehensive information about such activity is very difficult to gather and would require more space than is available here. Some aspects only will be touched upon.

In the early sixties, an awareness of the heightened importance of continuing education for the professions became particularly evident to the professions themselves and to those responsible for pre-service professional education, which in those years was mainly The University of British Columbia. The Faculty of Medicine created a Department to give leadership to this work and worked closely with those from other health care fields. University Extension worked closely with some other professional areas – engineering, law, education, commerce, agriculture, forestry, etc. – encouraging the expansion or inauguration of continuing education programs. Some of these were based at the University (or in other educational institutions) and some drew their energy and leadership (law and nursing, for instance) largely from the professional group itself.

By 1972-73, courses for the health care professions sponsored by U.B.C. attracted over 7,000 registrants. By 1985-86, the figure was 13,373. The nursing professional body, the RNABC, played a direct role in organizing many continuing education programs, but with the publication of an important series of reports in the early seventies, changed its role largely to that of standard-setting and accreditation. Continuing Legal Education, which operates out of the professional association's office in Vancouver, involves approximately 7,000 course registrations a year. The teaching profession is served by all three universities, and does a great deal of continuing education through sections of the professional organization. Several of the professions have looked at the possibility of "mandatory continuing education" for their membership, but most have decided against such a policy. Continuing professional eduction has grown in the past three decades into a major sector of adult education, and many agencies are involved in this work.

Mention has been made of the fact that according to the most recent comprehensive Statistics Canada report, employers now represent the third largest source of courses taken by adults. Research on this sector of the field is skimpy, but it is clear that many employers, perhaps especially those whose work force require a high degree of technical knowledge, see this as a task they must assume, at least in part. A survey of the electronics industry in the province, conducted in 1985, revealed that a high percentage of such firms either provided training for technical staff or purchased such training from elsewhere. Probably the largest industrially based training program in the province is that operated by the B.C. Telephone Co. That work was begun in a small way soon after the company was founded, but the first full-time trainer was not appointed until 1956. For the next 20 years, training activities expanded considerably, located within the several operating units. First on an "experimental" basis in 1978 and then two years later as a permanent arrangement, these several units were brought together in a Department of Education and Training. This operation moved to new quarters in Burnaby in 1983, where there is a staff of 189 people in the department, 62 classrooms available, over 300 courses in the instructional catalogue and an annual operating budget of over eleven million dollars. In 1987, the Education Center offered 2,300 courses, which served 21,600 registrants. Programs operate under the guidance of advisory committees for each company "discipline", such as construction, engineering,

computer communications, customer service and marketing. It is not surprising that industrially-based training is expanding at the present time, it being the declared policy of the federal manpower authorities to purchase proportionally more of their training places in the future from industry rather than from the educational institutions.

There has been an expansion in recent years of the role played by the private or proprietary training schools in the province. They have for many decades been a prominent source of training in certain fields, especially certain business skills and specialties. Their presence was perhaps less obvious during the bulk of this period, as the programs of the public educational institutions were growing so rapidly in almost every field. But since the federal government has adopted the policy referred to above and since the provincial government announced a similar intention (in their case, in an attempt to "downsize" the public sector in all fields) there has been new opportunity for the private sector in vocational training to expand and flourish. In 1985 there were well over 250 private career training schools operating in the province, providing 35,000 students with training. A Private Career Training Association has been in operation since 1977, devoted to advancing the interest of this work. It currently has something over 50 members and is concerned as well with the general improvement of standards and recognition of training in the private sector.

There are a number of important dimensions of adult education in this period which can be placed under the general heading of Community Education. Many of these activities are part of the public sector (community centers, community schools, etc.) and many are in the private and voluntary sector. In projects such as the Britannia Center, there is a mixture of public and private initiative. The following brief description can mention only a few aspects of this work. Community education is here used to refer to those aspects of adult education which are less "institutional" and more closely related to community concerns and interests than are some institutional offerings.

Like some other agencies which provide community education services, the community center movement, which emerged with dramatic speed in the late forties, has offered a mixture of recreational and educational activities. In the City of Vancouver, 18 such centers were established in the 20 years beginning in 1948. In a single month in 1970, for instance, there were 160,000 participants in center programs in Vancouver alone, approximately half of whom were adults. Such work throughout the province typically drew financial support from the provincial government, the municipality, and of course from student fees. During the 1950s and the following decade there was very rapid growth in the number of Recreation Commissions operating these programs in the province, the number reaching 375 by 1965.

Another dimension of community education is represented by the activities of organizations providing educational and other services for recent immigrants. There was a substantial expansion of this work in the late 1950s, when civic Citizenship Councils were established in many cities in the province. The Immigrant Services Society and a wide range of other ethnic and inter-ethnic organizations continue to operate at the present time, offering cultural orientation, language instruction and a wide range of other educational and support services.

The community school movement has been another significant dimension of community education in recent decades. These are public schools (usually elementary schools) which are organized according to a scheme developed first in Flint, Michigan and which involves establishing a close working relationship between the school and the neighborhood it serves, the resources of the community being called upon to enrich the activities in the school program and the school providing a range of recreational and educational services of interest to the members of the community, sometimes including activities of a social change or community development nature. The first such school in B.C. was established in North Vancouver in 1971 and by 1980, there were forty such schools in the province. A few have fallen victim to the budget cuts which have affected the school boards in recent years, a situation which has not been helped by the Ministry of Education's consistent lack of interest in the community school movement.

A notable achievement of this period in the field of community education has been the Britannia Community Services Center, located in East Vancouver. This "village" or cluster of services, which emerged from various citizens' movements in the 1960s, but did not formally open its doors until 1976, contains a community school and various other elements and is devoted to serving and assisting with the social and cultural development of its area, a modest-income, heavily "ethnic" region of the city. Britannia has been outstandingly successful in involving the people of the area in the management and program of the agency and has provided a broad educational program as well as other services. The Britannia Center has gained a national, and even international reputation for its strongly community-related organization and program.

A feature particularly of the 1960s and 1970s in the province were a number of projects and programs which fell under the heading of community development. The relevance of community schools and the Britannia Center to such work has been mentioned. The National Film Board of Canada, through its Challenge For Change project and several of the social development projects typical of the late sixties such as the Company of Young Canadians and other federally funded bodies, did significant community development work. In many cases, such projects were strongly supported by adult educators and their institutions. Most community development has been a casualty of recent shortages of funds, as well as of changes in dominant political and social philosophies.

Any such review of agencies in the field is clearly inadequate, particularly when it comes to trying to do justice to the vast array of private and voluntary organizations which make significant contributions to the field. A list of such groups would include ones in such areas of concern as health and safety, public affairs, social and cultural development, outdoor and environmental concerns, religious or spiritual development, and a wide range of avocational interests, to name only some. These represent a major portion of the invisible giant that is adult education in the province.

III. Historical Overview: To What End?

The previous section was in large part devoted to an examination of the organizations and institutions which provided adult education opportunities over the years. In some cases, we have considered briefly the nature of the programs or services they delivered. This enterprise, so varied, and growing at such a rapid rate over the decades, "prospered" because it was meeting people's needs. One of the most important characteristics of adult education is that by and large, people take part only if they wish to do so – only if they see some satisfactory outcome for themselves in return for the time, energy and funds expended. The nature of the benefits expected varies from person to person and from situation to situation. They may be vocational, social, recreational, spiritual, or related to some other aspect of self-development. Sir Josiah Stamp, and English industrialist and economist, put it well in the 19th century, when he said that the functions of adult education were to equip the individual "to earn a living, to live a life and to mould a world".

...to earn a living

A major proportion of adult education as it has developed in B.C., as elsewhere, has been for the purpose of vocation, using that term in its broadest meaning. It is a natural human characteristic, perhaps, and this is something which is greatly emphasized in North American society, to want to "get ahead" and to perform one's daily work in a responsible and satisfactory fashion. Indeed many, if not most immigrants to Canada have come to this country because it held promise of reward for effort and opportunities for a better life in economic terms. Modern rates of technological change have also "forced" many Canadians to change their occupation, or change substantially the way they carry out their current one.

Seen from the point of view of society and public policy, vocational education has also received high priority indeed. For instance, governments have seen the basic importance of having an efficient system of food production in this country and both provincial and federal governments have heavily

subsidized educational services for primary producers in order to bring this about, by means of district agriculturalists, demonstration farms, applied research activities, information systems, support of Farmers' and Women's Institutes, etc. Governments have also seen the vital importance in today's world of having a highly trained and resourceful work force. No part of adult education in Canada in recent decades has been as heavily subsidized as technical and vocational education. Government selects students for training, if necessary moves them to another part of the province (or country) where training is available, covers the cost of their training, and if needed, pays the students' living expenses while they are in training.

So from the point of view of both the individual and the society as a whole, vocational education is a matter of very high priority and it is no surprise, therefore, that education "to earn a living" has been such a large segment of the field.

When those early settlers in Craigflower, near Victoria, in 1854, gathered periodically to read papers to each other about agricultural practices, the earliest example of adult education in the province we know of, perhaps adult education for vocational purposes was launched in B.C. Newspapers in the early years of settlement abounded in advertisements for proprietary schools in vocational subjects. The first Superintendent of Schools in the province, John Jessop, was clearly ahead of his time, but as early as 1877, called in his annual report for the school boards of the province to become active in providing night schools, which he clearly saw as being mainly vocational in their efforts. The Department of Education took the initiative in 1874 to promote the in-service training of school teachers by means of organizing Teachers' Institutes, which subsequently became province-wide and functioned at both a provincial and regional level. The Provincial Department of Mines began offering instruction in its areas of concern as early as 1896. The B.C. Telephone Company began training programs for its employees in 1890 and the B.C. Electric Company was doing so at least as early as 1906. The craft unions played an important role in the training of their members and journeyman members, the Typographical Union becoming active in this work in Vancouver as early as 1893. Among the professional groups, the medical doctors were organizing educational events for their members at least as early as 1902. The federal government Department of Marine and Fisheries began its marine schools in Vancouver in 1907.

Perhaps the largest scale educational effort in the vocational field before 1914, however, was that in the field of agriculture. Soon after British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871, the province began work in agricultural extension, even though agriculture did not become a Department on its own until the early nineties. This activity was described briefly in the previous section. With the passage of the Agricultural Instruction Act in 1913 by the federal government, greatly increased funds became available to the province for this kind of work. The co-operative movement had got its start in B.C. in the 1890s and by 1914, the movement was active among producers (dairymen and fruitgrowers) and through co-operative stores.

Vocational education for the larger urban centers was provided by some of the means mentioned above, but also through other organizations. Over the turn of the century, the most important provider of such courses, especially in Victoria and Vancouver, was the Y.M.C.A., which in the mid-nineties began to offer classes in vocational subjects in both centers. In Victoria the program was even termed an "evening college" and in both centers there was a considerable range of vocational as well as other subjects offered. Although we are accustomed today to see school board programs which are extremely diversified in terms of the type of course offered, in the early years, the offerings were overwhelmingly vocational. The advertisement for the Vancouver program in 1909 was headed, "Young Men and Women: Prepare For Promotion". The vocational emphasis of the program could not have been made more clear.

Both World Wars, the second of course on a much larger scale, caused a tremendous expansion in adult education in the vocational sector. Information about this activity in the first War is particularly elusive, but the vast expansion of the shipbuilding, munitions, mining and lumbering industries in the province in the 1914-18 period clearly required the training of many thousands of workers, much of it

presumably taking place on the job. It has already been pointed out that more than 1,300 veterans of the First World War attended vocational courses organized by the University, in at least 11 subject matter areas, plus several branches of agriculture. Much similar work was presumably carried out under other auspices.

The twenties, especially the middle years of the decade, were prosperous times and a period of rapid development in some business and industrial sectors. Supported by funds made available by Ottawa under the Agricultural Instruction Act of 1913, agricultural work was expanded, under both government and university auspices. School board programs in several centers, with Vancouver leading the way, as always, expanded vocational offerings. Apprenticeship training was enhanced by the passage of provincial legislation in 1935 which regulated this activity. In 1919 the federal government passed the Technical Education Act, which provided matching funds to the provinces to finance facilities and programs, including in-school education. During the twenties these funds helped to make possible modest progress in this field in B.C., including the building of technical schools in Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster, the growth of vocational courses in night schools, and the beginning of vocational correspondence courses.

The depression years of the 1930s produced some important initiatives, many of them in order to produce activity for people rather than having them languishing in unemployment. A number of these programs which were described in the previous section, were vocational in character. Under federal legislation late in the decade (1937), the relatively new Extension Department at U.B.C. was able to get funds to enable it to launch a remarkable series of what were called Youth Training Schools. These were two week residential courses which provided mainly vocational training, for both men and women.

At the end of the decade, the Dominion government became more active in this work, and these measures were dramatically expanded with the beginning of the war and the urgent need for trained people both within the armed forces and in the civilian war effort. An even larger effort, as far as B.C. was concerned, was the training of civilians for work in wartime industries, most notably shipbuilding and aircraft production. The year 1943 was the peak year for employment in this work, and training programs in both educational institutions and on the job were also at their peaks, some training being operated on a shift, 24 hour day basis. Legislation in 1940 had the effect of shortening apprenticeship programs so journeymen could be turned out more quickly to meet the needs of wartime industry. In 1942, in Vancouver alone, the St. John's Ambulance Association trained 7,361 instructors in the fields of first aid and home nursing.

The immediate post-war years were a boom time in economic activity, as the Canadian economy converted to peacetime needs and developed rapidly in order to meet both demands which had been deferred during the war, and the demands of the families established by the men and women as they returned to normal peacetime occupations and pursuits. Veterans returned to their education, many having come home with considerably altered goals from what they had held before the war, and with financial and educational benefits from the government which made it possible for them to pursue these ambitions. Veterans swelled the size of educational institutions, especially those which provided a means of completing their high school standing, the university and vocational and professional training programs. The school boards and certain proprietary schools did important work in providing opportunities for high school completion. The University of British Columbia made remarkable efforts in responding to the needs of the veterans.

The fifties saw the beginning on a whole new scale of the provision of vocational and technical education, the provincial government establishing a series of vocational schools in the province and the Vancouver School Board, in the lead once again, creating the Vancouver Vocational Institute. Organized labor and industry stepped up their educational activities as well.

Conditions in the late 1950s conspired to bring about another major thrust in vocational adult education. It was a time of economic downturn and the number of unemployed workers in the country

grew to unaccustomed heights. In 1957, the Western countries were shocked to hear of the successful launching of the first earth satellite, or Sputnik, by the U.S.S.R. The West's assumed leadership in technical training and research came under serious question and the Diefenbaker federal government, in common with other Western nations, gave serious attention to strengthening technical and vocational education, and to the retraining of many unemployed workers.

The result was the landmark federal legislation, the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act of 1960, which made previously undreamed of amounts of money available for this work — both facilities and programs. Funds were made available to the provinces on a matching funds formula. To this measure we owe the great expansion of the vocational school system, the creation of the B.C. Institute of Technology, the great expansion of vocational training in the school system, as well as support for some elements of the emerging community college system. One indication of the expansion of vocational education in this period was that enrollments in vocational classes sponsored by the school boards went from 9,000 to 34,000 during the decade. The rapid expansion of vocational training in many cases required the academic upgrading of potential students in order to make it possible for them to cope with the vocational courses.

Ever since the passage of the Agricultural Instruction Act of 1913, federal actions in the field of vocational and technical training had been based on the assumption that education being a provincial responsibility under the constitution, all Ottawa could do was to make federal funds for this purpose available, which it did on a matching funds formula, leaving the decision to the provinces as to whether they would get on with the work. During the early sixties, under the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act, Ottawa received a great deal of criticism from the provinces, who complained that Ottawa's action in providing the funds was forcing the provincial government's hands (which was indeed the objective) and they complained also about federal "interference" in how the funds were being spent.

Tiring of this state of affairs, Ottawa took a different position beginning in 1966. It now asserted that the federal government, under its constitutional responsibilities with respect to the economic well being of the country, had the power to act on its own authority with respect to manpower training (which it carefully differentiated from education) and that under new legislation, the Occupational Training Act (1967), it would have the power to select candidates for training, purchase training for them from whatever source was appropriate, and when necessary, provide maintenance allowances for trainees during the period of training. These principles have governed the actions of the federal authorities under this and successive legislation. Such arrangements have provided vocational training in the province for many tens of thousands of adults. Training under these programs, which have changed in emphasis as conditions changed (further legislation in 1982 and 1985), was provided for 8,625 persons in 1967-68, 21,720 in 1969-70, 35,967 in 1978-79 and 32,036 in 1983-84. These figures include full and part-time trainees, but the vast majority were the former. Something less than 10 per cent of the figures represent those in full-time language or basic education training.

Another very important development in the last 20 years has been the rapid expansion in continuing professional education. Some information about this field was provided in the previous section. The basic point is that because the professions, by definition, are dealing with complex and advanced levels of knowledge, they have recognized, perhaps to an extent not matched by any other occupational groups, the necessity of their continuing to learn throughout their active years of practice.

As our society becomes more complex and new knowledge is generated at ever increasing rates, the way in which we carry out our vocational roles is tending to become technologically more sophisticated. Whole new industries requiring highly trained technical personnel are being created. Many existing jobs require new levels of skill and knowledge. And all too many Canadians lack the basic intellectual skills which are necessary if they are to be able to cope with these changes. Adult education which is relevant to the way British Columbians make a living has been prominent in the past and will perhaps be of even greater importance in the future.

...to live a life

Activities related to living a life, apart from what will fall into the other two categories being utilized here, are of an enormous variety, and only a few selected examples can be mentioned. And here we are faced with the fact that the same course or program, such as academic upgrading, horticulture or the fine arts, may be used by one person for vocational purposes and by another for recreational or life-expanding purposes.

In the early years of settlement in the province, it is activities in this category which seemed to dominate the adult education scene. The record of the church institutes and mechanics' institutes which were formed in some cases almost as early as the communities themselves, indicate a concern for the amenities of life. These organizations typically provided a reading room containing books and newspapers; lectures, both occasional and in the larger centers, series as well (lectures on such subjects as "The Catacombs of Rome", "Rambles in the North West" or "An Evening with Longfellow" are frequently noted, and series on "The Psychology of Medicine", "The Elements of Geology" and many on literary subjects); debating societies in some of the larger organizations; study groups on literary or other subjects; dramatic clubs; and in the case of the largest of these organizations, the Victoria Mechanics' Institute, an institute orchestra. In the boomtown years of Barkerville, St. Saviour's Anglican Church was the sponsor of the Cariboo Church Institute, which provided lectures, concerts, "lecture concerts", band concerts and "magic lantern shows". These were typical of such efforts in the early years of settlement.

A wide variety of independent study groups, literary, drama and music societies, debating and mock parliament groups were formed in the early years, some seeming to disappear after a short time and some, like the Collingwood or Bursill Institute of Vancouver and the Alexandra Club of Victoria having a longer life. Much of this sort of activity took place within the program of the Y.M.C.A. as well. Of particular interest were several organizations founded in the pre-war years which provided a fairly comprehensive program in the arts and sciences. In Victoria, a leading example was the Natural History Society of British Columbia, the program of which included regular lectures and discussions as well as a variety of field trips. Perhaps the most ambitious of these organizations was the Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association, the work of which included many types of educational activities, exhibitions, musical events and which as well may be credited with the organization of what later became the public museum in Vancouver. In New Westminster, there was no organization of the range and stability of the two just mentioned, but the mechanics' institute, during its checkered career, performed many of the same functions. In the case of all of these organizations, they were actively supported by some of the leading citizens of the community. In his study of such organizations, Ian Hunt has termed these groups "mutual enlightenment" organizations and it is clear that they had significant social and perhaps political purposes, as well as cultural and educational.

The role of the churches has been referred to in connection with the church institutes. It should be pointed out as well that in at least three other respects the churches played an important part with respect to adult education in this early period. The first is to recognize that an important aspect of adult education, then as now, has to do with people's religious growth and development, and the churches, of course, played an important and continuing role in this connection. Secondly, the churches sponsored a great deal of other educational activity themselves — lectures, study and interest groups, debating societies, and in the case of the Methodist Church particularly, a great deal of English language instruction for Oriental immigrants. The other main contribution of the churches was the activity of many outstanding ministers both as community leaders (in educational activities of various kinds) and in some cases as teachers and lecturers. The Rev. Henry Fiennes-Clinton of St. James Anglican Church in Vancouver was a leader in the organization of the Vancouver Reading Room, precursor of the public library, organizer of the Seamen's Institute, and frequent lecturer on church history and architecture. The Rev. John Gardiner of the Methodist Church worked in both Vancouver and Victoria giving leadership to language instruction for Oriental immigrants and training teachers for that work. The Rev. H.H. Gowan of New Westminster and Victoria gave leadership to language instruction too, was an effective organizer and leader of a variety of educational and cultural organizations and was one of the most popular lectures

in the area on literary subjects. The Rev. Percival Jenns of St. John's Anglican Church in Victoria ran several educational programs in connection with the Church, and for some thirty years gave lectures on chemistry and other aspects of science.

The role of many of the churches in educational activities was particularly crucial in the early years of the development of the area, before other special purpose organizations and public institutions were created to take up the task. In subsequent years the churches concentrated more on education among their own adherents, and of course this work, although not well known beyond the church membership, has continued to be of very great importance in the lives of many people.

During the First World War, educational efforts were directed predominantly towards the goals of the war effort. The year 1916, however, marked the creation of one of B.C.'s remarkable cultural organizations, the Vancouver Institute. This organization has for most of its life been associated with The University of British Columbia, and rests on cooperation between "town and gown". It has an unbroken history of activity ever since its creation and conducts a series of Saturday night lectures given by outstanding experts, in recent years attracting many hundreds of people each week.

The twenties were largely a period during which already existing services were continued in their development, the number of school boards offering programs increasing, with very modest development of non-vocational courses. A few specialized study group organizations such as the Burrard Field Naturalists Club (Vancouver) came into being. The Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Arts (later the School of Art) was founded in 1925 and opened up opportunities for many interested in the fine arts. Radio broadcasting came into widespread use during the decade, an important source of cultural fare. In 1929, it became possible for the first time to complete the high school program by means of correspondence courses from the Department of Education. This was also a decade of fairly active development of library service, the Vancouver system, for instance, opening its first branch library in the city, the Public Library Commission carrying out a comprehensive study of library services in the province, and the groundwork being laid for the important new development, the regional library service, which materialized in the next decade.

The decade of the 1930s and the depression conditions faced by so many British Columbians provides many examples of the work of this kind. In fact it should be noted that in many of the reports of government services during the depression years, specific reference was made to the fact that the intent was to help raise the "morale of the people". To a degree unequalled at any other time in our history, government saw as one of its goals to help citizens of the province "live a life" that was rewarding, and to offset the desperation and discouragement which were being faced by so many. A public policy with respect to adult education which embraced a view of the whole person, rather than seeing the adult learner in just a particular role as worker, student, or one seeking hobbies or recreation, was a remarkable feature of the period and has not been seen since. The role of the government in supporting the work of the Vancouver Council of Women among the mothers of families on relief (Self-Help) was in keeping with this philosophy, and the government also ran programs on its own. The latter included the large-scale Provincial Recreation program (Pro-Rec), which enrolled tens of thousands of citizens in recreational activity and included a great deal of training work, and also a community drama program, which sponsored the formation of hundreds of play reading groups and provided assistance to them.

Much of the work of the Extension Department of the University, created in 1936, was in this category. The chief initiatives in the program of the Department in the thirties were mainly in the liberal arts and the humanities. A lecture service for the community was continued, evening classes in a wide variety of mainly non-vocational areas was built up, an audio-visual service of film slides, 16 mm. films and recordings was established, study courses on various social science, educational and family life subjects were developed, a summer school of the arts was launched, a quite remarkable series of services in the field of drama were established. The role of the new department, as summarized by its long-time Director, Gordon Shrum, was that of assisting with the cultural development of the province.

Another area of expanding activity during this period was education about health and safety. The Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Associations strengthened their work during this time and as it turned out, built up a strong base on which to build wartime services. Much of their work was conducted under the sponsorship of other groups. The Greater Vancouver Health League, created during the decade, symbolized new efforts to promote health education on a broad community front.

The post Second World War period brought a number of important developments. Many persons who had been involved in urgent war work, at home and abroad, were relishing the opportunity following the war to pursue their own interests and hobbies and there was a great expansion of adult education related to these areas. A great deal of that was based in the emerging community center and neighborhood house organizations. This post-war period has been caricatured as the "basket weaving" period in the development of adult education in Canada and like all good caricatures, it contains much truth, even if it is an oversimplification. Clearly related to this development came the dramatic expansion of school board adult education beginning in the fifties. From 1955 to 1957, for instance, night school enrollments increased by 50 per cent, and as B.E. Wales, the historian of this work has pointed out, a great deal of the expansion during this period was in the fields of general interest and recreation-related subjects.

The Community Arts Council of Vancouver began its remarkable life in the promoting of the arts and education about them in the post-war decade. In 1954, it received a national award from the Canadian Association for Adult Education for its programs.

The Extension Department was presented in the late 1950s with an opportunity to develop an ambitious new program based on what was called the study-discussion method. This involved the organization of small groups of people, who agreed to read certain material each week and then meet to discuss the ideas involved, under the leadership of persons who had received some training in leading group discussion but who were not subject matter experts. Financed by the Fund for Adult Education, an American subsidiary of the Ford Foundation, this project was called Living Room Learning. It began in a small way in 1957-58 with 29 groups in three different communities, and by the early sixties was for several years operating more than 125 groups, in as many as 66 different communities in the province, utilizing at one point as many as 24 different courses, and involving approximately 1,600 persons per year. This program was a casualty of budget cuts in the Extension program in 1964.

Beginning slightly earlier than Living Room Learning and based on very similar methods, the Vancouver Public Library launched the local version of the Great Books program. This involved the study and discussion of some of the seminal books of the Western tradition and was developed (by the sponsoring American foundation) into a multi-year program, with a parallel program for children and teenagers as well. Launched locally in the mid-fifties, this program was maintained for more than twenty years.

The yeasty, populist years of the 1960s were a period of continued interest in private pursuits of many kinds and the non-vocational elements in the programs of school boards, the University and the community centers grew rapidly. Important new participants on the adult education scene appeared in this decade with two additional public universities being created and the system of community colleges beginning in mid-decade. Many voluntary organizations — the churches, the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s, a variety of special interest groups and proprietary schools expanded their offerings as well.

The emergence of the Women's Movement dates from the 1960s as well and in educational terms, this led to the creation of many programs which were aimed at assisting women to make decisions about their lives, assess their interests and capacities, and assist with personal development. A major step in this period was the foundation of the Women's Resources Center under U.B.C. extension auspices, but located in the downtown area. Earmarked funding from the Ministry made it possible for interested colleges to establish women's access centers in the late seventies.

The sixties, especially the latter part of the decade, brought the beginnings of great expansion in the fields of adult basic education (ABE) and the teaching of English as a second language (ESL) to adults. Although both fields had received some attention earlier, the dramatic expansion of vocational and technical education programs in the early sixties under the TVTA Act had brought fresh revelation of how many potential students in such programs did not have sufficient knowledge of the language, or enough basic education to allow them to take advantage of the vocational training which was increasingly becoming available. The federal authorities began to develop curricula and to purchase full-time ABE and ESL programs for their trainees, and this in turn led to the expansion of interest in these fields and in the number of experienced teachers available. In the case of ESL, a strong provincial professional organization emerged in the late sixties and The University of B.C. began teacher training courses especially for this group. Strong leadership in both fields was provided by Vancouver Community College, their programs being among the leading ones in Canada. When the provincial government greatly expanded its role in adult education in the late seventies, the provision of ABE and ESL was a top priority for the Continuing Education Division and by various means it assisted in the further expansion of this work. In the four year period 1978-79 to 1981-82, for instance, the number of ESL students in the province increased from 9,600 to 22,820 (and the number of contact hours of teaching from 553,500 to 1,462,000); and the number of ABE students from 4,157 to 18,661 (and contact hours from 16,462 to 72,777). A further significant development lying behind these figures is that in addition to the many students in both fields who were sponsored by the federal manpower programs, a larger and more rapidly growing segment of both fields was made up of part-time students who were developing themselves through such study as their circumstances permitted. Especially in the field of ESL, a great deal of instruction was also being provided by voluntary and other organizations (including the universities), whose work is not reflected in the statistics for the school boards and the colleges, presented above.

Another feature of the field which emerged in the sixties and took on increasing significance with each passing year since was the provision of education appropriate to the needs of older people. Early efforts in the field took the form of workshops and conferences for those working professionally in the field and as well, programs with and for older people aimed at identifying the educational needs and interest of older people. Since those early years, this work has been taken up by many organizations, including those of older people themselves, and many educational institutions also have lowered or waived registration rates in their regular programs for older people. Through the federal government's New Horizons program, financial assistance has been available for a number of special educational projects organized by groups of older people for themselves.

These are a few of the noteworthy accomplishments in adult education in the province which have particular relevance to the non-vocational elements of life. The lively adult education scene in B.C. has produced many accomplishments in these areas, a number of them having gained widespread recognition in Canada and beyond for excellence of concept and performance.

...to mould a world

The traditional concept of a liberal education is that it would make the person capable of being a free and independent person, able to express ideas, sort the valid from the spurious or propagandistic arguments, and make well considered decisions as a free and independent citizen. The intention here is to focus more narrowly than that, on types of education which deal with matters clearly related to one's functioning as a citizen. It is clear, of course, that certain types of basic education — a satisfactory level of literacy and the ability to use the working language of the society — are necessary for citizenship, but these and other aspects of general education have been considered in the section above.

It has been said that many of the early leaders of the English working class gained confidence and competence in expressing themselves and in organizational affairs from their participation in Methodist bible classes, study circles and church government. This is undoubtedly also the case for many British Columbians. Hidden in the fabric of our social and political development are many influences which have equipped and disposed men and women to play an active part in the organizational

and political life of our communities. We could look to the churches, the unions, the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s, the Farmers' and Women's Institutes and the like as the training ground for many a citizen and leader.

There is much evidence that in the early decades of our development, many citizens were anxious to develop their capacities for action as citizens. In the 1890s there was a strong trend in the development of debating societies and mock parliaments. In Vancouver, in 1911, a "league" of debating societies from various organizations was formed and competitions among the groups were held on a regular basis. Also of importance in this connection were such groups as the Men's Canadian Club, which was established in 1906 and the women's counterpart organization which was formed three years later, the aim of which was to help their members become informed about community and national affairs. However, several organizations went beyond providing information for members and played an active part in advocacy and political action. Examples of such organizations include the Council of Women, established in both Victoria and Vancouver in 1894, and the Farmers' and Women's Institutes. Whereas the Council of Women was established primarily for the purpose of social action, the Institutes had a variety of functions, of which such activity was one.

The political parties themselves were a source of stimulation for learning about public affairs. It is difficult, if not impossible to differentiate their propagandistic efforts from what might properly be termed educational, but both have been of value in drawing people to consideration of and participation in public affairs. Although little is known of their work in this connection, it appears that the early socialist parties in B.C. were very active in providing educational opportunities for their adherents, just as the C.C.F. party was when it emerged in the early 1930's. The churches too, arising out of their social gospel concerns for the nature of society, took an active part in such work. On a number of occasions over recent decades, the churches, Protestant and Catholic, have made public pronouncements on matters of policy and have engaged large numbers of their members in a study of social questions. Examples of church-sponsored statements which were widely studied in the early years include the Methodist Manifesto on Peace and War, published in 1914, the "message from the Chaplains" issued at the end of the war, the radical and controversial Manifesto of the Methodist General Conference of 1918, and the United Church's major statement entitled "Christianity and the Social Order", which was published in 1934.

Prior to and during the First World War, many women's organizations, already existing ones and new, special purpose ones, did a great deal of work, some of it educational, to promote the cause of women's suffrage, a goal which was successfully realized when women received the vote in 1917.

The U.B.C. Extension Department had a strong interest in public affairs. The Department became the provincial center at the beginning of the Second World War for the film distribution network being established by the National Film Board. Under the dynamic and controversial leadership of John Grierson, the NFB, in co-operation with the Wartime Information Board, took up the task of helping to unify the nation behind the war effort, and then after those years, to move on to its broader mandate of citizenship education. A distribution system for NFB films was based in the Extension Department and much work was done by way of forming and supporting local film councils and film circuits and training people in the use and appreciation of film. The Extension Department also became the provincial office of the two CBC-CAAE public affairs programs, National Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum. Listening groups for both programs were organized throughout the province and the provincial secretary for both programs were staff members of the Department and were responsible for collating feedback from the groups and broadcasting it back to the groups on a weekly basis. Also of importance in this connection was the program of education about co-operatives for the fishermen of the province which the Department began in 1939, with financial assistance from the Dominion government. At the time, according to the historian of the co-operative movement, Ian MacPherson, the fisheries co-operatives were the liveliest and most dynamic part of the co-op movement in the province, and the work of the Extension Department in assisting with the organization of co-operatives and credit unions was central to this work.

The period of reconstruction thinking during the latter part of the Second World War was a lively time for education about public affairs. The role of Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum and the National Film Board have already been referred to. Typical of the period was a conference held in Vancouver in mid-May of 1944 involving some 144 organizations of which organized labor groups were the most prominent and sponsored by the Industrial Reconstruction and Social Development Council. The theme of the conference was "Post-War Rehabilitation and Reconstruction" and a number of recommendations on social policy were approved and publicized, including some on adult education.

The immediate post-war period stimulated the activities of several organizations interested in international affairs as well, the League of Nations Society being active in the inter-war years and giving way to the United Nations Association after the Second World War. The Canadian Institute of International Affairs also had strong branches in the main centers.

Particular reference should also be made of the emergence in the late forties and fifties of what might be termed the group development, leadership training or human relations training movement. The U.B.C. Extension Department provided a great deal of the leadership in this field, a major portion of it in cooperation with the parent-teacher movement. The Department provided staff specialists who led work in this kind of training, organized training events led by outside experts, and developed study guides and other teaching materials for use by those interested in this area. Many of the methods and techniques which were developed in this human relations training field found their way into various branches of education, practices in organizational life, and training in government and business and industry. It also helped to develop skills which in many cases were used in community affairs. A grant from the Fund for Adult Education made it possible for the Extension Department in the early sixties to enter into three year projects with both the Council of Women and the B.C. School Trustees Association to strengthen their educational work among their members. Programs about public affairs within the regular evening class program were also expanded at this time. These grants, plus a subsidy provided by the Board of Governors of the University made it possible to expand short course activity in public and international affairs.

Another significant product of this period was the work of the Citizenship Branch of the federal government in promoting efforts among established and "New Canadians" as well towards what later was termed multi-culturalism. The immediate post-war decades were ones of very extensive immigration to Canada. The federal government took a lead in working with ethnic groups and other organizations and individuals interested in the reception and welfare of immigrants, and in citizenship policy generally. They sponsored the creation of what were usually called Citizenship Councils, provided assistance to them, and made possible communication among the councils, including periodic regional conferences of councils, the first of which in B.C. was held in 1957. There were approximately 10 councils in B.C. and they conducted a wide range of educational activities, as well as rendering practical assistance of various kinds to newcomers to the country.

The 1960s was a decade of widespread social and political agitation in Canada, as elsewhere. It was a period of populist movements, the growth of single-issue advocacy groups (women's issues, environmental concerns, disarmament, Vietnam, Native Rights, etc.) and it was also a period of strong leadership from the federal government. Canada's "War on Poverty" measures including Manpower policies, work under the Agricultural Reconstruction and Development Act (ARDA) and several programs to subsidize local initiatives by young people, all contributed to a range of educational and social development programs in B.C. This was a period during which liberal social and educational philosophy was strongly challenged and a number of programs were created which were aimed at a basic examination of community life and economic and social relationships.

Community development in various forms became a prominent feature of the educational scene. In this connection, the National Film Board, perhaps reviving something of the spirit of its first director, John Grierson, moved into an active role in the animation of social change through its project, Challenge for Change. The program had two main projects, one a series of films aimed at encouraging citizens to

take an active part in community affairs, and the second a pioneering venture in placing film-making (and later videotape) equipment and training in the hands of those engaged in community development projects. Both aspects of Challenge for Change were utilized in B.C., the best known example of the second being a long-term community development project in Bridgeview, a district in Surrey.

Reference has already been made to two other projects which were concerned with community development, in the broad sense, the Community School movement and the Britannia Center. Community education, that is efforts to link educational provision to the concerns of the community and to the quality of life in the local area, have a long and important history in Canada. A belief that the neighborhood elementary school could play a key role in the development of its region, dealing with the adult community as well as the children in its charge, goes back in Canada to at least the 1920s.

The period of NDP government in the province, 1972 to 1975, was one which generally supported educational change and community development approaches. The Community Resource Boards which were created were a natural form for promoting social development. The efforts of the government directed towards the further development of the college system in the province laid the foundation of a system which could be more responsive to educational needs at the community level. And as long as that government remained in power, the colleges were left free to be responsive to local situations, although few of them were outstanding in this regard. The new college legislation of 1977 reinforced trends towards system-wide governance and discouragement of responsiveness to local needs.

As a final example of adult education which is related to the learner's role as citizen, reference should be made to the longstanding efforts of organized labor in the training of its leaders and interested members for their responsibilities within the union organizations. Local, provincial and national labor bodies have been active in such education since 1945, the longstanding "weekend institutes" dating from the latter years of that decade. Human rights educational activities began in Vancouver in 1951 and were pursued vigorously during that decade. When the Canadian Labor Congress was formed in 1956, the pace of educational activity picked up, more extensive training programs were organized in the region, co-operative relationships were developed with Simon Fraser University and a number of B.C. union leaders attended the annual eight week residential Labor College of Canada, which began in 1963. In 1975, union-sponsored education took a substantial step forward when the federal government began a program of financial support for the educational programs of the main labor bodies, annual grants which still continue.

Participation in adult education is under almost all circumstances a voluntary act. The fact that there has been such rapid and continuous growth in adult education in the province is a clear indication that for one reason or another, be it vocational, social, recreational, or in order to expand personal interests or skills, adults in this province in steadily increasing numbers have turned to education as a key to their prosperity, development and enjoyment of life.

IV. Public Policy and Advocacy

One of the most important determining factors affecting the extent and nature of adult education in the province has been the policy of government, and of public agencies of all kinds towards this field. The following account deals with some of the highlights in the development of public policy over the years, some aspects of which have already been mentioned in the preceding sections.

Public Policy

The earliest use of public funds in support of adult education in what is now B.C. actually predates the province. In 1865, the government of the Mainland Colony of B.C. provided a supporting grant for the British Columbia Institute of New Westminster, the forerunner of the mechanics' institute of that city. In 1866, after the union of the colonies, the government of the United Colony made grants to the New

Westminster and Barkerville institutes, but these ceased after two years. One of the earliest pieces of legislation of the newly created provincial government in 1871 was An Act Respecting Literary Societies and Mechanics' Institutes, under which grants for such bodies were made until the year 1878.

In the late 1880s, the Provincial Library and Museum were created and in 1891, province-wide library activity was fostered by the passage of the Free Libraries Act. Also in the early nineties, the Department of Agriculture expanded its educational activities, and launched its regular information bulletin series. The late 1890s was a creative period for publicly sponsored aspects of the field, the Provincial Bureau of Mines giving courses in the three main centers, the Farmers' Institute Act (1896) laying the foundation for the expansion of that activity, and the provincial travelling library service being launched.

Public school adult education emerged after the turn of the century. In 1909, the Vancouver board launched an ambitious evening program and during the ensuring months, with the help of the school trustees' organization, persuaded the government to amend the Public Schools Act (1910) in order to provide official recognition and financial support for night school work. In 1913, John Kyle, who had organized the Vancouver program, was hired by the Department of Education and put in charge of both technical education and night schools.

Agricultural extension, which was considerably expanded by the government in 1909, developed dramatically beginning in 1913 with the help of funds made available by the federal legislation, the Agricultural Instruction Act. So although the adult education movement in the province before the First World War was largely provided by the voluntary sector, government was beginning to play a role, especially in agriculture, public libraries and at the end of the period, in the public school system.

The period of the Great Depression of the 1930s represents an important stage in policy development because as the effects of the depression years created widespread social and economic distress, the government responded to people's needs in an unprecedented fashion. The most important single feature of the 1930s, as far as adult education was concerned, was the broadening of both the purpose and the extent of public provision in this field. This came about under the Patullo government, (which came to power in late 1933), and much of it as a result of the leadership provided by the Minister of Education, Dr. George Weir. The public library service of the province took a great leap forward with the development of the regional library system model, which was tested in the Lower Fraser Valley region in the early thirties and subsequently utilized elsewhere. Correspondence education, which had begun in 1919 under government auspices, was greatly expanded in the 1930s and B.C. was well ahead of other provinces in this work by 1935.

Local night school enrollments fell off badly during the decade, but had reached new highs by the late thirties. The government underwrote some kinds of vocational night school courses, making it possible for the local boards to offer them free. The apprenticeship system in the province was regularized and expanded under the Apprenticeship Act of 1935. Technical and vocational education generally operated at a modest level, the supporting federal legislation having expired in 1929. The province maintained a minimal program, however, concentrating largely on classes for the unemployed, inside and outside the relief camps. This work expanded greatly after 1937, however, when the federal government provided funds and leadership under the Unemployment and Agricultural Assistance Act, which in turn merged into the Second World War programs. The government also encouraged the university to expand its adult education activities and this work moved forward rapidly in the latter half of the decade.

A number of important programs were undertaken by the government in response to the distress and despair which many citizens experienced as a result of the depression. Government reports frequently referred to the need to bolster the "morale" of the people. The Minister of Education appointed a Provincial Advisory Committee on Adult Education to advise on activities to be provided for the desperate and unemployed (such a committee not being constituted again until the late 1970s). Under this committee, vocational classes were made available for the unemployed; a large-scale and much

admired recreational program, Pro-Rec, was developed; a social and cultural development small-group program for women in the Vancouver area was co-sponsored and funded by the government, in association with the founding organization of the project, the Council of Women; and a large-scale community drama program was organized by the Department of Education.

In the mid and late thirties, the variety of government-sponsored educational activities for adults had increased greatly and perhaps equally significant, government's perception of the purpose of its efforts had taken on philosophical overtones which had not been experienced previously – and have not since.

The period 1955 to 1970 was one of vigorous expansion in public provision. School board-sponsored adult education programs grew enormously during this period, with boards in B.C. leading all the rest of Canada in this respect. Strong leadership came from L.J. Wallace of the Department of Education during the fifties and the Vancouver board's program continued to lead the way. In the sixties, enrollment in school board programs in the province quadrupled, as did the number of classes, and by the end of the decade, 69 boards offered programs, with 54 employing full-time directors. The Vancouver board created the first full-time adult education institution in 1962, the King Edward Senior Matriculation and Continuing Education Centre, which operated until it merged into Vancouver City College (now Vancouver Community College) when the latter was founded in 1965. U.B.C.'s extension program grew rapidly during the fifties, becoming one of the most outstanding programs in the country, suffered a setback in the mid-sixties due to budget cuts, but reached its highest ever levels of activity by the end of the decade. The new colleges, institutes and universities were just beginning to develop their adult education work by 1970, but the pace of growth was picking up.

Federal initiatives, in the form of the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act of 1960 and the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967, transformed adult education in the vocational and technical areas. By the end of the sixties, the impact on the field of the vocational schools, the first colleges and the B.C. Institute of Technology (which had been financed largely out of the federal funds) was impressive. Apprenticeship in the province had developed steadily, except for the recession in the late fifties and early sixties.

By the end of the sixties, the adult education scene in the public sector was becoming increasingly complex. Organizations of adult educators representative of the various aspects of the field had emerged. Each of these organizations was involved to some extent in trying to influence public policy. In 1971, the Department of Education convened a conference, the first of its kind under public auspices, to examine problems of coordination in the public system.

Although the Ministry (formerly the Department) of Education had appointed a part-time director of night schools as early as 1913, it was not until 1962 that a full-time person was appointed and even then, the leadership exercised by the Ministry was sporadic, and necessarily limited. The outstanding exception to this was the mid to late thirties, as described above. With the appointment in 1976 of Dr. Ron Faris to head this work (an experienced bureaucrat and doctoral graduate in the field of adult education) a new era began. Dr. Faris and the team of colleagues he was able to build up around him in subsequent years had a very different view of the Ministry's role than had his predecessors. Whereas earlier directors had administered government grants and generally did what they could to encourage public institutions to expand their programs, Dr. Faris saw it as government's role to give leadership to the development of the field and to encourage qualitative improvements, in terms of both the professional leadership and the outreach of programs to meet the needs of all segments of the population. He persuaded his Ministry to appoint a Committee representative of the public educational institutions (which he chaired), which issued a discussion paper, held hearings throughout the province and produced a report, in 1976, which served as a blueprint for many subsequent actions. Developments included: the appointment of a standing Ministry Advisory Committee on Adult Education; stimulation by means of research studies, conferences and special programming grants of activity in underdeveloped but high priority areas (adult basic education, English as a second language, services to handicapped persons,

services to women, the elderly and single parent families); research studies, publications and practice manuals designed to assist the practitioners in the field; special subsidies for innovative programs and services; the improvement of data collection for the field; and the sponsorship of a series of conferences about adult and lifelong education for policy makers.

In addition to this expanded role on the part of the Ministry itself, this period brought the rapid expansion of adult education programs offered by public institutions. The need for continuing or lifelong learning on the part of the adult citizen was widely accepted, and for a variety of reasons — vocational, citizenship, self-development, academic upgrading — increasing numbers of persons took part in adult education. Many school boards in the province turned their adult education programs over to the new colleges in the early seventies, but the remaining ones eventually were enrolling more students than all the others combined did in 1970. The colleges, B.C.I.T., the other institutes and the universities all expanded their programs enormously in the last few years.

Particular mention should be made of the major initiatives of the provincial government in the area of distance education. The Open Learning Institute was created in 1978 specifically for the purpose of delivering educational programs by distance education to all parts of the province, program areas to include post-secondary, technical and vocational and adult basic education. In 1980, the Knowledge Network of the West was established, to assist other institutions in the system to convey programs to their students and the general public by means of a telecommunications network. These two agencies were combined to form the Open Learning Agency, effective in 1988.

Arising out of a conference which the Ministry co-sponsored with several provincial educational organizations and which was held in Vancouver in late 1979, the Ministry initiated a process designed to develop a series of Ministry policy statements on adult education. Drafts were prepared by the Ministry Advisory Committee, circulated to the field for comment, and then rewritten in the Ministry and issued as policy papers. The first of these statements, and overall or general policy, was issued by the Ministry in March of 1980. A second, on Community and General Interest Education followed in May. An Adult Special Education policy was released in March 1982 and was followed by one on Adult Basic Education (including ESL) released in April of that year.

The first sign of trouble on the horizon for government support of adult education came in 1981, when a new Minister of Education called a halt to this policy development process and indicated his unwillingness to accept some of the work already completed.

The Ministry has since dismantled the Continuing Education Division, has terminated virtually all of the work which has begun in the late seventies and has publicly announced its intention to discontinue providing leadership in this field.

Co-ordination of adult education services within the public sector is an element of public policy which deserves special mention. In 1971, the senior continuing education official in the Department of Education, A.L. Cartier, pointed out that the articulation of adult education services among adult education agencies would be one of the main difficulties in the future. This was the same year in which the Department encouraged the school boards to turn their programs over to the colleges, which would certainly have simplified the picture had it been fully acted upon. Approximately a third of the boards stayed in the field, however, and little if anything was done to deal with the considerable overlap in roles between those two sets of institutions. When the Faris Committee carried out its work in 1976, this issue was an emotionally "loaded" one. In its report, the Committee made an effort to define institutional roles, but what was done still contained much overlap and grounds for confusion.

An effort was made in 1981 to examine the question. With financial assistance from the Ministry, the Directors of Adult Education of the eight school districts in the Douglas College region and the Dean of Continuing Education of the college jointly undertook a study of the relative roles of the several agencies and of the basis on which an articulation of services might be arrived at. A key conclusion was

that as long as the Ministry based financial support of institutions on the number of enrollees and at the same time had no satisfactory way of acknowledging for financial purposes co-operative arrangements between and among them, the result was likely to be competition rather than co-operation. Faris reported in that same year that when he was assembling information from government departments and crown corporations to be included in the directory of adult education services which was to be published, he encountered a great deal of suspicion and reluctance to provide information, the departments fearing this was a prelude to someone attempting to take over their programs. When, in 1983, Faris was demoted and instructed to cease providing leadership in the field of adult education, he was told that one area in which he could continue his efforts was that of promoting co-ordination and "efficiency" in the system. But no policy initiatives were forthcoming to facilitate such work.

The matter or co-ordination remains where it has always been. Those responsible for the direction of institutional programs are left to exercise their judgment in the matter. This has worked reasonably well, but especially in the areas of overlap between the school boards and the colleges and institutes, there have been problems in some geographic areas, and at some times. It would appear that governments which see virtue in competition or "free enterprise" in other areas are just as committed to that principle for the field of adult education as well.

Advocacy

Some of the features of public policy towards adult education have been described. A related part of the story consists of the efforts which have been made over the years to shape or influence government's attitude toward such activity. What role should government play in the provision of opportunities for adult education; and what services should it and the public educational system provide? These questions have been the subject of many representations to government over the years. There has also at times been a persistent effort by those in government to persuade the public educational institutions to behave in certain ways.

The colony of British Columbia joined Canadian confederation in 1871 and we have evidence that in that very first year of the province's existence, efforts by members of the mechanics institute in the provincial capital led to the passage of An Act Respecting Literary Societies and Mechanics Institutes. From those early years until the formation of provincial organizations devoted to adult education in the 1950s, advocacy on behalf of the field had to come from interested citizens, other educators or from allied professions. There was not a great deal of this, but some examples can be given. When the provincial organization of school trustees and the Vancouver School Board were attempting to persuade the government in the early years of the century to amend the Public Schools Act in order to empower local boards to operated night schools, not only did the School Trustees Association and the Vancouver Board make representations to the government, but so did the Vancouver City Council and The Central Ratepayers organization in that city.

The librarians of the province were drawing the importance of adult education to the attention of the government as early as 1922, and when the Public Library Commission was asked by the Provincial Secretary to carry out a survey of the field in 1941, the Commission included in its impressive report strong recommendations as to the government's role in the field. They asserted:

> The next forward step in the march of educational progress in British Columbia ought to be the creation of means whereby men and women of mature age may have at their command facilities for knowledge such as have for generations been given the child.

They called for the creation of a strong agency within the Department of Education which for the field of adult education would be a "Directing, Controlling, Co-ordinating, Unifying, Centralized Authority". Their recommendations, in summary, were described by the authors as

> to the purpose and end that there may thus be organized and established, as speedily as possible, a province-wide system of adult education comparable in scope and organization with that of the public school.

No organization of professional educators, as they evolved in subsequent decades, could have put the case more strongly. Indeed the Public Library Commission's recommendations went beyond what most adult educators would subsequently seek.

The predominant phenomenon of recent decades has been the efforts on the part of professional or career adult educators, and their associations (to be described in the next section), to persuade government to accord higher priority to adult education. Research has shown that something of the order of 250 submissions by adult education organizations have been made to government since 1973 about policies in the field. These have included requests for greater visibility within government structures, stronger leadership from government, declarations of government policy, increased resources of various kinds for the field, and increased attention to the needs of particular groups. But as the field became increasingly professionalized, and as some of the institutions in the system developed large programs, there developed a degree of ambivalence with respect to how strong the leadership coming from the Ministry of Education should be.

In the buoyant period of the late fifties to the early seventies, those who were in charge of institutional programs tended increasingly to take the view, "Give us the tools and we will do the job". They argued for increased resources to be made available by government, but were no longer always arguing for strong and co-ordinated leadership from that quarter.

Two factors were especially significant in this connection. When the college system began to develop in the mid-sixties, and especially after the government attempted to shift the responsibility for adult education from the school boards to the colleges, a substantial portion of the professional manpower in the field began to take a jaundiced view of the leadership coming from government. By the time of the public inquiry into government policy towards adult education which was carried out in 1976 (the "Faris Committee"), opinion in the field was very divided. Submissions coming from many community organizations and from some institutions continued to call for strong leadership from government. Others, most notably those in the school board sector, but also some voices from the community and other professional sectors, were arguing for more funding, but less "control" from government. This arose in some cases from a distaste for government's apparent favoring of the colleges as deliverers of programs and in other cases from those who felt that government should route more of its adult education funds to the private sector.

As previously described, the school board-based adult education enterprise in the province, which had flourished for almost two decades – the mid-fifties to the early seventies – was the outstanding one of its kind in Canada and had built up a considerable head of steam and confidence in its own ability. The Directors of these programs were on the whole successful "educational entrepreneurs", who felt they knew the needs of their communities and who were accustomed to being left alone to do their jobs, within budgetary limits.

When the NDP government came to power in 1972, fresh winds began to blow, and when first the report of the government appointed College Task Force of 1974 seemed to favor the colleges over the school boards, and then Dr. Ron Faris (who was known to have the same views) became Executive Director of the new Continuing Education Division in 1977, these forces had to be taken seriously. Although Faris's social democratic views were not by any means representative of those of the Social Credit government under which he was operating, he was accorded considerable freedom by his Minister and progressive Deputy. Faris was generally critical of the adult education programs in the province, largely for what they were not doing rather than what they were doing. He felt the institutions were not trying hard enough to meet the needs of disadvantaged persons in their communities. By various means, he and his colleagues set out to shift the priorities of adult education in the school board and college

systems. In a significant number of cases, this "interference" with local adult education programs was resented. So that by the late seventies, there were mixed signals incorporated into advocacy efforts.

The case was consistently made over the years for government to affirm and give increased prominence to its responsibilities in the field of adult education. The most frequently mentioned recommendation was that government should develop and state its policies for the field. It was also recommended by various parties that the government's commitment to adult education be placed "in statute". In other words, there was concern that what has since in fact happened to government's commitments to adult education, namely their drastic reduction, might happen; and it was felt that if government's commitment to the field was stated in law, there would be less likelihood of it subsequently being brushed aside.

One of the most interesting features of the story, especially in the period 1976 to 1982, was the role of officials within the public service in creating opportunities for advocacy to government and senior officials. The Continuing Education Division was painfully conscious at all times of the "marginality" of government's concern about adult education. Faris and his colleagues were therefore constantly looking for ways in which persons and agencies in the community could be encouraged to press their case for an increased or more effective government role in the field.

The most significant characteristic of the field of adult education in British Columbia has been its failure to establish a political constituency for the field. In the last two decades particularly, there has been a great deal of advocacy activity within the system, but it has by and large consisted of the professional or career adult educators engaging in dialogue with the ministries of government. In the decades before the organizations of adult educators came into being, whatever efforts were made had to come from elsewhere. When the first provincial organization devoted to adult education was formed in 1954, and for about a decade thereafter, the leaders of a number of voluntary associations – the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., the Council of Women, the Women's Institutes, the Parent-Teacher Federation, etc. — were prominent in the affairs of the organization. But with increased professionalization and a change in the nature of the provincial adult education organization in the early sixties, it is clear that adult educators neglected their links with the voluntary sector and tended to narrow their interests and to draw in upon themselves and their institutions. This had the unfortunate effect of narrowing the circle of those who felt themselves to be involved in the welfare of adult education.

Interestingly, it was in the Continuing Education Division of the Ministry that there appeared to be the clearest realization of what was happening. One can see many of the initiatives of the Division after 1976 as directed towards the goal of involving elements of the community in shaping the field. The most obvious attempt to include such other parties was the strategy employed in organizing the three Lifelong Learning Conferences of 1979-82. Organized directly by one of the provincial professional organizations, but according to strategies developed by Faris and his Division, this venture involved several other groups, such as the school trustees, college council members and college teachers. It is significant that these initiatives have not been followed up since the Ministry has ceased to provide leadership in the venture, but it was its early success that appeared to lead to the Ministry's decision to launch the policy development process undertaken in the early eighties. The situation in this province contrasts sharply with that of Alberta and Saskatchewan, where by means of the Further Education Councils and the community contact committees, a variety of community organizations come to feel involved in the development and welfare of adult education services. But in B.C., although we have had a vigorous adult education sector in terms of programs offered, the numbers of institutions and persons professionally engaged in adult education, and number of students taking courses, we have not been successful in building a political constituency for adult education. In lean years such as the present period, when government has deliberately and avowedly abandoned a leadership role in the field, it has not been possible to mount a persuasive advocacy effort in the interest of adult learners in the province.

It would appear that organized adult education has been largely ineffective in its advocacy activities. It would be difficult to identify any single issue on which advocacy from the field has made an

important difference. Calls for strong, co-ordinated leadership by government which were made in the forties brought no discernible response. During the period of rapid growth and development from the mid-fifties to the early seventies – a time of increasing professionalization and institutionalization – much of the advocacy originated with the growing number of professional bodies in the field, and with the possible exception of some adjustment in the provision for high school completion programs for adults, appeals for change were largely ignored. Submissions from the field, some of them very substantial and carefully reasoned, were often barely acknowledged and requests for meetings with Ministers or senior officials were more often than not rebuffed.

With the coming to power of the NDP administration in 1972 and through the years of the Social Credit governments which have succeeded it (at least up to 1982) there were at the helm ministers or other officials with agendas of their own for the field of adult education. The field was catapulted from a period in which there was little sense of direction for government's role in the field to one in which government had a clear sense of where it wanted to go and did not wish to be diverted or distracted. In the NDP years, there was readiness to change but a singleminded concentration on the further development of the college and institute system. After 1976, under the leadership of Faris and other senior officials, there were lines of development firmly held to by these leaders. They overwhelmed the system with initiative, orchestrating expressions of opinion from the community as it suited their purposes.

But events since 1982 have made it clear that advocacy on behalf of adult education has next to no impact in the political arena. In the last five years, the government has publicly announced that it no longer intended to play a leadership role in this field. It has totally dismantled the Continuing Education Division of the Ministry. The volume of advocacy activity on behalf of adult education has slowed to a trickle in this period, it generally being felt that "no one was listening". To their credit, several of the associations of adult educators have sent out exploratory probes from time to time to see whether the wind had changed, and when, as in the case of literacy education, there have been grounds for encouragement, efforts have been renewed. Generally, however, the improvements which appeared to have been made during the seventies in government's acceptance of responsibility for leadership and support for adult education have proven to be illusory, or at best, short term. Efforts mounted by the field of adult education to dissuade government from its retreat from leadership in this field have been unsuccessful.

V. Movement and Profession

It is commonly observed by students of the field of adult education that it has over time been transformed from a social movement to a profession. Or to put it another way, that adult education is becoming professionalized. Adult education was seen by many of its exponents in the early decades of its development as a means of improving society. This was, of course, to be achieved through the education of individuals, but the effects would be a better world in which to live. It is no accident that many of the early leaders of adult education in our country, as in many others, came out of the churches, the Y.M.C.A. and various reform organizations. Adult education was seen by many of its pioneers as a means of enabling the democratic system to function more effectively or to bring about a fairer distribution of the benefits of our society by giving many adults a "second chance", in cases where they had missed out on opportunities in their youth to further their education. The latter was very much the case made by Jessop, Kyle and others in promoting the progress of night schools. And here are the words of a report by the B.C. Public Library Commission in 1922:

> It is not the education of children that will save the world from destruction; it is the education of adults. It is the adult who must be released from his prejudices, his narrow customs. His habits, his nature, his outlook must be broadened and enobled until they attain to civilized citizenship.

It is not without significance that when the first of the semi-annual conferences on adult education was held in December of 1954, the main topic of the day's discussion was "Education for Citizenship".

The 1950s brought several developments which were signs of an emerging professional spirit in adult education. Recent research has indicated that this was true for the country as a whole, but nowhere was the trend more obvious than in British Columbia. In 1954, the three leading adult education agencies, the Department of Education, the Vancouver School Board and the Extension Department of the University, took the lead in steps which led to the formation of the first adult education organization in the province, the B.C. Adult Education Council. It sponsored a series of semi-annual conferences about adult education and led in turn to the formation of two successor organizations, the B.C. Division of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (which existed for roughly the decade of the sixties) and the Pacific Association for Continuing Education (PACE), which is active at the present time. In 1955, L.J. Wallace of the Department of Education organized the first-ever conference of school board night school directors. This was clearly an important event in relation to the dramatic expansion of school board programs which began at that time, and it also began to build a sense of cohesion among the growing number of full-time adult educators in the province. In the following year, 1956, Dr. Roby Kidd, the Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, came at the invitation of the University and taught the first degree credit course in adult education which had been offered in the province. The University followed up on this event by inaugurating in the following year what was the first degree program in adult education in Canada. By the end of the fifties, therefore, there were a considerable number of full-time adult educators working in B.C., an organization had been formed which provided a means of consultation among them, and professional training was available in the form of a masters degree (and beginning in 1966, a diploma and a doctorate) at The University of British Columbia.

In the subsequent decades, a number of more specialized organizations of adult educators have been formed in the province, in keeping with the expansion and specialization in the field. The school board adult educators decided in 1963 to form an association, what for most of its existence has been called the B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators, and when it was officially constituted two years later, it welcomed into membership the college and institute-based adult educators as well. The sixties saw the beginning of the rapid expansion of technical and vocational education for adults and a provincial chapter of the Canadian Vocational Association was formed in 1964. (It went out of existence when PACE was formed in 1972.) The specialists in English as a second language formed a provincial association, TEAL, in 1967. Approximately half of its members were teachers of adults and the other half worked in the school system.

The seventies brought further organizations. Two of these related particularly to training in and for business and industry, the Training and Development Society of B.C. (formed in 1974) and the Private Career Training Association of B.C. (established in 1977). In 1976, educators from the Community School movement and others interested particularly in education as a key to social change formed the Association for Community Education in B.C. Those involved in the delivery of adult basic education formed a provincial association in 1979. Two other groups, the Society of Vocational Instructors of B.C. and the Adult Special Education Association (subsequently renamed "Network"), were formed subsequently.

This means that there are at the time of writing at least nine different provincial organizations representing elements of the field of adult education. One organization, PACE, sees itself as concerned with the whole field of adult education. Others are specialized in terms of representing either institutions (public or private) or specialized content areas. The "umbrella" organization, PACE, tries to provide a common meeting ground by enabling each of the other organizations to name a representative to sit on the PACE board. The presidents of all organizations are invited to come together periodically to discuss matters of mutual interest.

The various associations have quite different interests, however. PACE (partly because of its strong links with the national organization, the Canadian Association for Adult Education), the Association

for Community Education, the Adult Basic Education Association, and the Adult Special Education Network, tend to represent the "movement" dimension of adult education. They put stress on the interconnection between the further education of adults and improvement in social justice and the social order. The other associations named tend to be more predominantly concerned with professional or institutional dimensions of the field. These differences in emphasis or priorities make it difficult for the organizations to act collaboratively, or even to maintain effective communication. Specialization in the field is accompanied by the risk of balkanization. Earnest efforts are continuing on the part of several of the leaders of these organizations to maintain contacts across the field, but it is a difficult struggle. Just as adult education itself is extremely varied and dispersed in our society, so it is proving difficult to achieve anything approaching a community of interest among the many working professionally in the field. The question clearly is whether it will be reasonable in the future to see adult education as one, or several fields.

Professional training and research are an important part of the story of the field. As in the case of the field as a whole, it is no simple matter to define the limits of the subject. A number of the most senior positions in adult education in the province are held by persons with no formal training in the field of adult education. This may continue to be the situation over the long run, but certainly at the present time is an indication that the field is in only a partial stage of professionalization.

It has already been mentioned that The University of British Columbia launched a masters degree in adult education (within the Faculty of Education) in 1957 and that this was the first such program in Canada. This development came about largely due to the initiative of Alan Thomas, who held a joint appointment in the Faculty of Education and the Extension Department, and John Friesen, the Director of Extension. The first degree was awarded in 1960. Thomas headed up the program until 1961, when he left the University, and Coolie Verner then became the Head and first full-time appointment in the academic program. The degree was available only by part-time study for the first several years, but as other staff were added (there are currently eight faculty), full-time study became possible. A doctoral degree was added to the offerings in 1966, with the first such degree being awarded two years later. A Diploma Program was also inaugurated in 1966 and was at first made up of a selection of the graduate courses. In 1980, a special series of undergraduate courses were introduced and formed the Diploma curriculum. Non-credit continuing professional education courses for adult educators were offered regularly, beginning in 1960 administered by the Extension Department. These involved several hundred adult educators each year and during the seventies and early eighties included as well a cluster of varied training programs each spring under the title, Chautauqua by the Pacific.

Training which has relevance for the field of adult education does not by any means all emanate from the adult education program at U.B.C. Individual courses in adult education have been offered for more than ten years at the University of Victoria, and it is possible to earn masters or doctoral degrees at both Victoria and Simon Fraser in other fields, but with some degree of emphasis on adult education. In addition, there is a degree of overlap between aspects of adult education and other fields such as social work and recreation. A number of Community School co-ordinators, for instance, have been trained in those other fields.

Another dimension of training in the field has been represented by the Instructors Diploma Program. When the government began its province-wide system of vocational schools (and subsequently melded most of them with the colleges), they employed as instructors large numbers of qualified journeymen who knew their trades, but had not had training as instructors. The Department of Education provided what was at first called the Vocational Instructors Program for this group, a series of four courses offered by face-to-face instruction. The Department turned the administration of this program over to the Extension Department of U.B.C. beginning in 1968-69. The name was changed to the Instructors Diploma in 1972, and it remained at the University until 1986, when it was transferred to Vancouver Vocational Institute. Non-formal training in the field of adult education aimed particularly at those working in business and industry has been provided for some years by both the B.C. Institute of Technology and Vancouver Community College. In addition, the B.C. Telephone Co., the Workers'

Compensation Board and other agencies have done a great deal of training for their own personnel in such areas as program development and the instruction of adults.

The graduate program at The University of B.C. has been the major center for research in the province, though much significant work has been done by individuals elsewhere, most notably in the universities. It is in the nature of graduate programs to generate a major thrust in research. Faculty are expected to maintain a substantial research program and students are required to produce research both within individual courses and as degree requirements in the form of graduating essays, theses and dissertations.

Adult education has clearly become much more professionalized in recent decades than was the case earlier. Some of the significant earmarks of a profession – the complex subject matter, the body of theory and accumulated knowledge, professional training being available — have been developed. A great deal of the thinking about adult education as a field of practice is currently contained within the idea of the delivery of expert services. Many adult educators see it as their task to be proficient in the specialized services they are paid to deliver, be it the design of courses and curricula, the teaching of certain content, the evaluation of programs, or the administration of a service.

There are those who are concerned lest the delivery of expert services of this type become the total pre-occupation of adult educators. Some of these are in what has been termed the "social reformist" tradition of adult education and wish to see the field retain something of the sense of being a movement. To what end? Reverend Moses Coady, the major figure in the internationally famous adult education program based in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, termed it "the high objective of social progress" and he described adult education as "a mass movement of reform". Other, perhaps most, adult educators today see no such social program as inherent in the work that they do and tend to separate the expert services which they render from the ultimate use to which the learner – and society as a whole – put the results of learning. Small wonder, then, that adult education is such a dispersed and disparate enterprise in our society.

VI. The Past as Prologue

It is a familiar maxim that the most dependable way of making a judgment about the capacity of a person or an organization to perform well in the future is to rely not on their promises of marvels they will perform in the years to come, but rather on their past actions. What have they been able to do in meeting challenges and responding to opportunities in the past? It is perhaps appropriate to apply something like the same standard as we now come to contemplate the future of adult education in British Columbia.

There are grounds for expecting great things of adult educators and adult education, relying on past performance as a guide. As we look back over the history of the field in British Columbia, it is clear that there is a record of major achievement in some parts of the field. It is appropriate to identify some of these. All have been mentioned in the previous sections, but are singled out for special mention again here in this final chapter.

First, it should be pointed out that the field as a whole has a remarkable record of vigorous and responsive action. In every national study that has been undertaken, British Columbia has over the years consistently come out at or near the top in terms of participation rates in adult education. In certain sectors of the field such as school board adult education, non-degree work of university extension, and English as a second language instruction, there have been periods of time when the work in this province has been the most outstanding in Canada. The field of adult education in British Columbia has attracted a large number of creative, energetic and resourceful people who have a long and outstanding record of achievement.

The earliest accomplishment in the field which will be singled out is what was achieved by the Department of Education in the province under the leadership of J.W. Gibson and his colleagues in the development of correspondence education. Gibson took charge of this work in 1929 and within a few years, especially after the Liberal government came to power in 1933 and he could count on the support of the Minister of Education, George Weir, Gibson expanded the correspondence course service of the Department considerably, provided a complete high school program, and in other ways as well, made the correspondence courses more relevant and accessible to adults as well as the children of the province, including men in the relief camps. It was in recognition of the outstanding achievement of this work that Gibson was asked to prepare a special appendix to the national survey of adult education which was conducted by the Canadian Association for Adult Education in 1935, and also that the then newly-established international congress on correspondence education held its second world conference in Victoria in the thirties.

The Fraser Valley Regional Library service was launched in that region in the summer of 1930, under the leadership of Helen Stewart. The project had been conceived by the Public Library Commission of the province, which had also raised funds from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to underwrite the first three years of operation. The important innovation in library service which was involved in the project was that instead of every town in a region developing its own small library collection and service, these things would be done on a regional basis and holdings anywhere in the system were accessible, on call, if necessary, to everywhere else. Such arrangements have long since become a common basis of library development, throughout B.C. and elsewhere in the world, but the demonstration project in the Lower Fraser Valley was an important pioneering venture and Helen Stewart was kept busy travelling to many parts of the world explaining how the new system worked. Locally, the test came in 1934 when the outside funding ran out and the 22 communities involved, in the depth of the depression, had to make a decision at the polls as to whether the regional library system would be assumed as a local tax expense. In 20 of the 22 communities, the answer was yes.

The Community Self-Help program of the Depression and early War years was an example of initiative on the part of a voluntary organization which was supported as well by government resources. It is included here both because of its importance in its own right and also as an example of the admirable readiness of the Department of Education under the leadership of Weir as Minister and Kyle as the official in charge of adult education to respond to the conditions of the times. And the times were terrible, of course. The Great Depression had hit B.C. and Vancouver harder than any other part of Canada. In the year 1933-34, the Vancouver Council of Women began a project of providing material and psychological support to the mothers of families on relief in the city, forming groups of eight or so mothers who met weekly in homes and there received a combination of practical instruction in such areas as the remaking of clothes, the recovering of furniture and low budget meal planning, etc., and as well had an opportunity for regular social contact with others. To these very practical subjects were added others, instruction in arts and crafts, musical and drama groups, and a variety of other activities. The program was described at the time as being aimed at "the prevention of spiritual tragedies" and it was clearly aimed at both practical and morale-boosting goals. By the spring of 1934 there were 257 women participating in the groups. In the following year the Department of Education joined in the effort by providing a back-up administrator for the project, arranging the availability of required space in schools and elsewhere for special events, and paying for a variety of materials which were needed in the work — cloth, printing services, seeds for home gardens, etc. Registration in the program climbed to 1,691 women in the peak year (1937-38) and continued until 1941-42, when there were 1,130 participants. In the final year's report, it was stated that women from 8,000 homes had been involved in the work.

The recently-created Extension Department of The University of British Columbia established a remarkable record of achievement in the latter years of the thirties. Dr. Gordon Shrum took over the direction of the Department in its second year of operation and in a remarkable burst of leadership, recruited staff and found resources from various sources which made possible the development of adult education services. Dorothy Somerset, who was a drama specialist, developed a multi-faceted service in that field in a remarkably short period, including a play lending library, some hundreds of local play

reading groups around the province, a theater of the air through which plays were produced on the radio and listening groups (up to 127 at its peak) organized to listen and discuss them, and beginning in 1938, a Summer School of Theater. In addition, she guided the development of work in several other areas of the fine arts. Making use of funds available via the province from the federal government, the Extension Department organized teams of teachers who traveled around the province, spending two weeks in each of the towns which requested their services and conducting Youth Training Schools for unemployed young adults of the area. In the last two years of the decade, some 39 of these short courses were run, with an average attendance of 53, and as well, an annual eight week residential course was established on the campus. Federal funds from another source made possible the launching of an educational program among the fishermen of the province which was devoted to promoting the development of co-operatives in the fishing industry. A number of the larger co-ops in the province owe their origins to this work. A remarkable beginning was made in the field of audio-visual services as well. With support from the National Film Board of Canada and other sources, the major film library in the province was established in the Extension Department and the Department became the organizing center for the far-flung series of film councils and film circuits which were established under the sponsorship of the Film Board. Theses are but a few of the services established in a very short period of time in the pre-war years by university extension under Gordon Shrum's leadership. Other accomplishments of national reputation were to follow.

The adult education program of the Vancouver School Board, as the previous pages of this study reveal, could be recognized for a number of important contributions to the field. The emphasis here will be placed on several vital contributions which were made in the span of a very few years in the late fifties and early sixties. They have mainly to do with the development of programs which make it possible for adults to complete further academic study, to the grade ten or grade twelve levels especially. Prior to that time, there was a growing consciousness of the need for such educational opportunities, but the path to gaining such qualifications on the part of adults was discouragingly slow, both because the programs available could be taken only on a part-time basis and because adults were still required to complete some course work which might have been relevant to youth still in school but was of little or no relevance to adult students. As a result of continuing negotiations with the Department of Education and the successful demonstration projects such as the Vancouver Experiment and the King Edward Center, which have already been described earlier, the adult education personnel of the Vancouver Board, headed by B.E. Wales, brought about academic programs designed especially for adults and demonstrated the impressive response there was from the community if opportunities for full-time, reasonably rapid progress towards such academic qualifications were available to adults. In the same period also, the Vancouver Board approved and issued its "Guiding Principles" on adult education, the first such declaration from a school board in Canada that it recognized it had a responsibility for the education of adults as well as the children of its district.

One of the most remarkable projects in the field of adult education in the province was the Living Room Learning program run by the Extension Department of The University of B.C. beginning in 1957. Funds secured by the Department from an American foundation, the Fund for Adult Education, made it possible at that time for Extension to employ someone to attempt to establish in the province a network of study-discussion groups for the study of liberal arts subjects. Study-discussion as a methodology relied on groups being formed which would meet regularly to discuss whatever the topic under study was to be. The subject matter of the study course was provided not by expert speakers but by selected readings, which group members read and analyzed before coming to the meeting and then discussed under the guidance of group leaders who were not expert in the subject matter, but who had been given some training in the art of discussion leadership. (The Great Books program was another example of study-discussion program and it began slightly earlier than Living Room Learning, under the auspices of the public library.) It was by no means a foregone conclusion that such a program could be made to work. It required the organization of groups to take part, a formidable problem of recruitment in itself; the finding and training of volunteer discussion leaders (there were no funds to pay them); the recruitment of co-ordinators in various towns of the province, there being an intention from the beginning to make this a province-wide program; the selection of appropriate study courses, including the creation of a series of

Canadian programs, much of the other material available originating in the United States and having too American a slant; and the establishment of a province-wide network to sustain the whole operation. Knute Buttedahl, who had been working in the field of human rights education, was recruited by the Department to head up the project and he achieved remarkable results. In the first year of operation the program involved 29 groups in three communities, with 346 participants. By the time Buttedahl left the project in 1961, it was operating in 66 different communities in the province, 126 groups were involved, with 1,488 members. The American foundation officer responsible for the project, for which they had given parallel grants to several other institutions in North America, said on several occasions that the foundation achieved more for dollars invested in the program at U.B.C. than they had anywhere else. The program continued under other leadership at U.B.C. until 1964, when it was a victim of the severe budget cuts the University administration imposed on the Extension Department. A brief revival later in the sixties was of limited success, in its way demonstrating just how essential the special leadership qualities of Knute Buttedahl had been.

Recognition should be accorded to Vancouver Community College for several aspects of its activities on behalf of adult students, but particular reference will be made to its work in the field of English as a second language (ESL), especially in the formative years of the late sixties and early seventies. The Vancouver School Board had a long history in the field of ESL, going back to the 1930s. The field began to pick up speed in the sixties as the federal manpower training authorities began to provide ESL training for some of those who were selected for vocational training. Mel Henderson was in charge of this work for the board, beginning in 1964. He was also a key figure in the establishment of teacher training courses in ESL which began at U.B.C. in 1966. Pat Wakefield took over the leadership of this work for the board in 1970 but soon thereafter she and responsibility for ESL were transferred from the school board to Vancouver Community College. The explosive growth in this work really began in 1972, when it fell into two main divisions, the full-time courses for the federal Manpower students and the half-time and other part-time programs, both on the campus of the college and elsewhere through night classes and through the Neighborhood English classes, which were held in many locations throughout the community. In the span of just five years, 1971 to 1975, enrollments in the College's ESL classes increased from just a few hundred to over 3,000, 320 of whom were studying English full-time and 1,410 were studying for three hours per day. Night school students had represented the bulk of enrollments until 1972 and stood at 606 by 1974-75. The neighborhood classes had begun in 1971 and by 1975 enrolled 525 persons in the year. This ESL program was by far the largest in the province, and perhaps in all of Canada. It was meeting the needs of the federal manpower program, which paid all the costs of their students, but also through other financial arrangements and innovative programming on the part of the adult educators involved, it was also providing a broadly-based community outreach service as well.

Reference has already been made in an earlier chapter to the outstanding record of service of the Britannia Community Services Center. The achievements of this project should clearly be recognized in this list of outstanding programs in the field, but it is not necessary to repeat some of the information. It should perhaps be said, however, that although in the fields of adult education and social work, there is a great deal of emphasis placed on the need to establish and run programs with, rather than just for the people to be served, Britannia has been more successful in this regard than almost any other project. This is a tribute to careful and skilled planning, and also to the leadership, both lay and professional, which have been demonstrated in the Britannia project since its inception. Michael Clague, the Director of the project for its initial years, has been widely recognized as one of the key factors, if not the key reason why this was achieved. Britannia provides a number of community services, draws budget from several public sources, and is recognized as a creative and responsive provider of social and educational services to its region.

The Women's Resources Center, which comes administratively under the Center for Continuing Education of U.B.C. and grew out of its Daytime Program in the mid-seventies, is located downtown in the City of Vancouver and provides counselling and educational services for women who are considering the course of their lives and preparing themselves for their future activities. There is only one key paid professional staff person employed by the Center and much of the service provided by the program is

carried out by trained volunteers. Counselling services of various kinds are provided through the Center and a large range of group and class programs as well. By the mid-eighties, the Center was serving approximately 1,400 women per month with their various services. Their report for 1985-86 indicated that in that year, the volunteers had provided some 7,000 hours of service to the Center. The Women's Resources Centre has been singled out in international publications as one of the outstanding agencies of its kind in the world and each year it receives visitors from various countries who are wishing to see it work at first hand. Pat Thom, its founder, and Anne Ironside and Ruth Sigal, its directors, have received wide recognition for their contributions to this field.

The final project to be described is very different from the others in that it is a device of government policy, rather than a project which delivers services directly to adult students. It may be seen as representative of the many creative measures adopted by the Continuing Education Division of the provincial Ministry of Education in the period 1977 to 1982, during which it provided such strong leadership in the development of adult education services in the public educational system. It was the conviction of Ron Faris, the head of the Division that although the public institutions, most notably the school boards and the colleges, were doing much useful work in the provision of adult education in their communities, they were not pursuing as vigorously as they might the provision of service to some of those most in need of them, the educationally disadvantaged. He had in mind particularly the provision of adult basic education, English as a second language for immigrants, and education for the handicapped. The Continuing Education Division was not in a position to tell the institutions "what to do". But they did have some control over the purse strings. So when additional financial resources became available in the system in 1977, rather than put all the funds into the regular grant systems through which adult education in the institutions normally received support, Faris established a "Special Projects Fund". The funds were allotted by college district and could be claimed by either school boards or colleges, but the requests coming from each district had to be co-ordinated at the district level. A small amount of money, some $117,000, was made available in this way in the first, experimental year, but the annual allotment subsequently reached $500,000. These funds could be applied for by institutions and it was made known that they would be made available only if the projects in question were considered to have merit in terms of pioneering new, more effective service to the priority groups referred to above. Advisory panels from the field were recruited to jury the submissions and advise the Continuing Education Division about the grants to be awarded. This administrative device was clearly successful from several points of view. It allowed the Division to have impact on the directions of innovation in the system, it was successful in stimulating the establishment of new programs and techniques for serving the priority groups, and it brought about the accelerated growth of such work. In the years in which the policy was maintained, programs which were designed to provide educational services to the priority target groups grew at a faster rate than did the field as a whole.

The ten projects just described are of course just ten among many which could have been selected. They seem to this writer to demonstrate some of the characteristics that are required if the field of adult education is to continue to rise to the challenges which lie ahead.

In the record of achievement which is represented by these projects — and many others which have been mentioned in the pages of this study — a number of essential qualities have been demonstrated. First it is clear that adult education in British Columbia has attracted a large number of remarkably able persons to this field of activity. In some cases it would appear that the nature of the field itself, the pleasure of working with adult persons who were seeking to improve their knowledge and skills or to widen the horizons of their lives, was the attraction. For others, what mattered may have been other goals, the attainment of which involved adult education as an instrumentality. Those other goals have included such things as improving the quality of democratic life in our society, improving the lot of certain groups – women, immigrants, the poor, working men and women, the educationally disadvantaged, or the handicapped — or it may have involved the promotion of certain causes, such as the co-operative movement, cultural development, respect for human rights, environmental concerns, or certain social or philosophical views. It appears that the "great deeds" that have been accomplished in adult education in the province have in every case been accomplished by, and under the direction of persons of great ability

who clearly cared deeply about what they were doing and about the benefits which could flow if they did their work well.

In some, but not all cases, it seemed to be important that the project was based in an agency which was recognized by the community and highly regarded by many. This was not necessarily a public institution, but perhaps we tend to know more about projects in the public sector.

It is worth stressing that the programs and projects which seem to be of importance are in no instances "90 day wonders". They are achievements which have been the result of sustained effort over a period of some years. Here again, the fact that most of the examples chosen were ones based in a organization or institution which had a continuing existence beyond this adult education project being described may be significant. The stability and resources of the sponsoring body may be an important element in making a particular program or project possible. The quality being identified here is that of persistence over a long enough haul to make considerable achievement possible.

Another quality which jumps out from the story of all these projects is competence. In many, but not all cases, one might properly term it professional competence. But in all, the competence was clearly there. If passion were all that were required, this would indeed by a very different list. What has been seen in project after project here was passion coupled with the competence to see the job through.

There is another quality, one perhaps based in part on competence but which goes beyond it. Perhaps the term creativity comes as close as any. The creativity involved in this case, however, is not that of the dreamer; it is rather a kind of applied inventiveness, a response to real life situations. The Britannia Community Services Center was an original, creative response to a set of circumstances which existed at a certain time and place. What was attempted there was firmly rooted in a knowledge of what was needed and what might be possible. It – and many other projects described in these pages – were examples of what Coady was referring to when he urged his fellow Nova Scotians to "use what they have to secure what they have not".

Singular achievements such as those described in this study were made possible by the efforts of people who cared deeply about what they were engaged in, had the competence to carry it out and the persistence to see it through. Great things do no happen just because some institution or organization decides that something should take place. They happen only when there is a person or a group who will take charge and see the job through.

There are many fine achievements in the record of adult education in this province. There are signs in contemporary society that adult learning, and therefore adult education, are going to be at least as necessary, if not more so in the future than they have been in the past. How as a society we respond to those needs will depend in large measure on both the quality and commitment of adult educators. In Mao's China, the expression was, "both expert and red". In present day British Columbia, the "red" may not be such a good idea, but the basic notion is the same – both commitment and competence.

Not many of us aspire to great, trail-blazing achievement. We are quiet people, going about our chosen tasks and wishing to perform them in a responsible, competent and in many cases, caring way. But we are ready to salute great achievement when we see it — in the record of the past or when it emerges around us in our own day. The history of any field is largely one of everyday achievement. In the case of adult education in British Columbia, there has been an admirable record of such everyday achievement, and there have been some great deeds done.

All of this promises well for the future. But the events of the eighties suggest that changes may be on the way which will profoundly affect the field of adult education. There have been – and are – in effect, two "economies" of adult education. There is a sector, in many respects the most visible and best known, which operates largely on the basis of a fee for service economy. As long as institutions retain a policy of adult education having to pay its way financially and as long as decisions as to what services will

be delivered and what courses may be held rest on a cost recovery principle, then we are operating within that "break even" economy. Thanks to the resourcefulness of so many adult education "entrepreneurs", very considerable achievements have been realized by such means. The "Robin Hood Principle" whereby profits are made in one part of a program to subsidize something else, is a familiar part of the adult education scene, here as elsewhere.

And there is a second economy or sector of adult education, one where much of the cost of providing courses and other services must come from sources other than fees. This is mainly because the persons being served — the poor, the educationally disadvantaged, the unemployed, the handicapped — simply do not have the disposable income which enables them to pay fees which cover costs. In addition, much work with these groups cannot be organized on the basis of mailing a brochure or placing an advertisement in the paper. There is staff time involved for social animation and working intensively with the clientele groups, necessary in order to secure the success of the program and not recoverable out of student fees. The reader is invited to review the list of significant achievements which are described earlier in this section. Not one of them were, or could have been financed only out of learner fees.

What has been experienced in the depression years of the 1980s is that the first of the two economies of adult education, although it felt the pinch like everything else, survived. Fees were raised, small classes were cancelled, corners were cut, but programs went on. In the other economy, with subsidies removed or reduced, staffs cut back and funds "unearmarked", whole programs for potential learners disappeared, waiting lists to get into many classes became hopelessly long and special provisions for groups requiring special services in many cases totally disappeared. In many instances what is happening is that the private and voluntary sectors are responding increasingly to the needs and we are witnessing a fundamental change in the field of adult education.

We have long been accustomed to the fact that in the world community, in spite of all the efforts to the contrary, the gap between the richer nations and the poorer nations is widening. Within our own society, there is growing recognition that the same thing is happening, and that we will increasingly see a deeply divided society. The "haves" will be able to come to terms with and make their way in the post-industrial, high tech world, and will reap economic rewards. Many other persons and groups either will not have that choice open to them or will reject it, and will suffer certain consequences, poverty and alienation among them.

Adult education as an organized movement has tended to serve those who already have the most formal education. Every participation study ever done confirms this fact. It presumably will continue to serve the needs of the "haves" in Canadian society, and also hopefully continue to provide a "second chance" for those who wish to move in that direction.

But a "new" element is emerging in adult education now. The term is put in quotation marks because what now may be seen as new in Canadian adult education is as old as the movement itself, has strong roots in Canada, but may not have been as visible in recent decades as it now is. It has to some extent gone underground while the professionalization and the institutionalization of adult education has taken place. In many parts of the world this sector of adult education is known as "popular education". It leaves institutionalized adult education to do its job, but has little to do with it. It has much in common with the original adult education movement; it seeks a better world, a more just and co-operative society, with adult education being used as one of the instruments to that end. It is based in many organizations, is allied with or part of many citizen groups and movements. It is assuming the name of popular education here too.

Many elements of the story of adult education as presented in these pages fit comfortably within a popular education movement. But the author is very much aware that the projects from the past about which information is available tend rather to be those which are related to the public sector and the large institutions. Much of the giant is indeed invisible.

The events of the eighties, to some extent building on the sixties and the years between, appear to indicate that in North America, the mainstream of adult education has lost its capacity to respond to the full range of human concerns. An increasingly professionalized field has developed a capacity to respond relatively effectively to the dominant social and economic elements of our society. It is important that this be done, and done well. The last several decades have witnessed great progress of this kind. But mainstream adult education in Canada appears less able than it once was to serve the needs of all the people. Perhaps it is romanticizing to think that it ever did, though we have outstanding examples.

There seems strong indication at the present time of an emerging popular education movement in Canada and British Columbia. A history of adult education in our province written some years hence will be able to provide greater perspective on this phenomenon. The history of this field, however, is increasingly becoming two histories, that of institutionalized, professionalized adult education as it emerged in the province over the past thirty years particularly, and a popular education movement which is of the people and an instrument of spiritual, cultural, social and political change.

Sources and Bibliography

A Note About Sources

This monograph is based on sources which have been examined over a period of the last 30 years, but mainly in the latter half of that time. A number of the published works are listed in the bibliography which follows. A note about some other sources which have been used:

Organizational Correspondence/Files. At various times a detailed search has been carried out of the files of certain organizations. Some examples are:

- B.C. Adult Education Council 1954 - 1961
- B.C. Division of C.A.A.E. 1961 - 1972
- U.B.C. President's Office and Faculty of Agriculture re extension work 1915 - 1936
- U.B.C. Extension Department 1936 - 1970
- B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators 1965 - 1985

Journals/Newsletters. A large number of journals and newsletters published by organizations of adult educators in B.C., the Canadian Association for Adult Education, and both federal and provincial departments of government have been consulted. For the most part, such sources are not listed separately in the bibliography which follows.

Newspapers. Some years ago, I carried out a careful study of newspapers for the pre-1914 period in Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster, Nanaimo, North and West Vancouver, and Barkerville. Much of this research was reflected in G. Selman (1971a), below. Newspapers have been consulted for specific dates, events, projects, since that time.

Government Department Annual Reports. Many such reports have been consulted over the years. At the federal level, this has included particularly Agriculture, Labor, Secretary of State, Manpower and Immigration, and Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. At the provincial level, the emphasis has been on Agriculture, Labor, Education and the Provincial Secretary.

Statistics Canada/Dominion Bureau of Statistics. There is reference in the bibliography below to two particularly significant statistical reports on participation in adult education in Canada, but many others have been consulted, most of them reports on particular sectors of the field. Statistics Canada and its predecessor have not been consistent in their coverage of the field and parallel statistics over even five year periods are not available.

Interviews/Personal Contacts. Having been actively engaged in adult education and in organizations of adult educators, provincial and national, since the early 1950s, and being interested in the history and development of the field from the beginning, I have made notes on events and interviewed key figures from time to time. Information gathered in these ways has inevitably found its way into this study.

Student Research. As a faculty member in the Adult Education program of the Faculty of Education, U.B.C. since 1974, I have had the opportunity of supervising the research of many students who have done historical and related work on the field. In spite of my facetious comments in the preface, I am aware that a great deal has been learned and recorded as a result of student research, and a number of these studies are listed in the bibliography. Some students have done excellent research for term papers within courses, but though I have profited from some of these, I have not attempted to list them.

Chapters, Articles in Other Sources. Much useful information has been found in chapters and articles contained within books and journals listed below. The bibliography already being quite extensive, it has been decided not to attempt to list those items separately. For instance, the two special issues on adult education of the U.B.C. *Journal of Education* (Verner 1964 and Thornton 1971, in the bibliography) each contain a number of valuable articles on aspects of the field, but the latter are not listed separately here. The same is true of two collections of papers published by the Pacific Association for Continuing Education (Cassidy 1984 and Kulich 1986). Similarly, several national publications (for example, Kidd 1950, 1963, Kidd and Selman 1978, Draper 1971, Brooke 1972 and Bouillard 1952 in the bibliography) contain chapters by B.C. authors, some of them on B.C. topics, which have not been listed separately. A few journal articles of significance for the study which would not otherwise come to notice have been listed as separate items.

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